THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLI *July 1957* NUMBER 3

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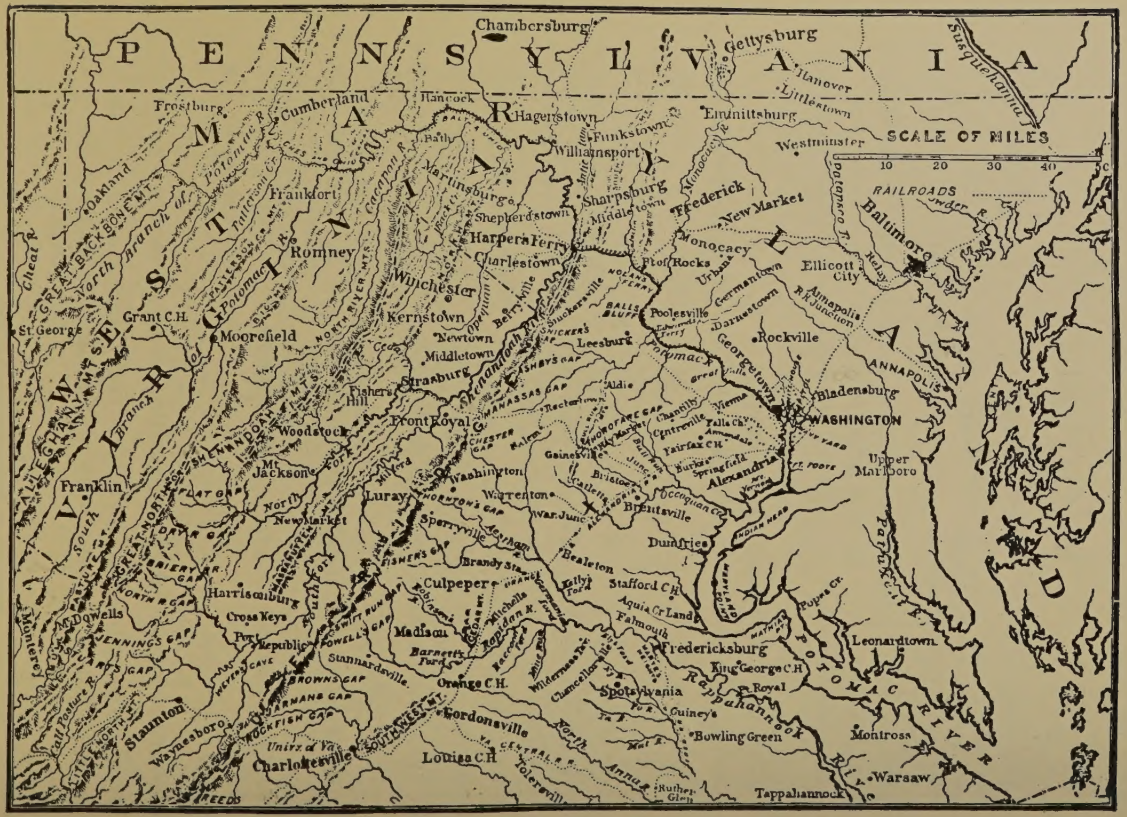

MAP 1: NORTHERN VIRGINIA, OCTOBER 1863

Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (1888), IV, 81

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THE DIARY OF A UNION SOLDIER IN CONFEDERATE PRISONS

Edited by JAMES J. HESLIN, *Assistant Director*

FOR THREE DAYS the Army of Northern Virginia under Lee, and the Army of the Potomac under General George Meade, fought at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. At the end of July 3, 1863, the battle was over and Lee was defeated. The next day Lee began an orderly retreat to Virginia and, in spite of President Lincoln's hopes, Meade did not immediately pursue and strike again at the wounded Confederate army. On the night of August 13th, 1863, Lee crossed the Potomac River and whatever chance there had been for Meade to attack effectively was now lost.

The remainder of 1863—as though a prelude to the savage fighting to come in 1864 when Grant appeared—was not a time of major campaigns or of great battles in Virginia. Lee addressed himself to the problem of filling his depleted ranks and, equally important, securing much-needed supplies. Meade, for his part,

had gradually advanced into Virginia. The strength of the Army of the Potomac was reduced, however, as a result of sending reinforcements to General Rosecrans fighting in Chattanooga, Tennessee.[1]

Thus, by October, 1863, the Union army was entrenched on a ridge north of Culpeper, Virginia,[2] with two corps extending to the Rapidan River. Weakened though the Union army might be, it was still formidable enough, and strategically well placed, to give Lee pause before launching a direct attack. Whether he wished to do so or not, however, Lee was more or less forced into some kind of action for two reasons: first, Lee felt that Meade's position would restrict the Confederate army's freedom of manoeuvre when the next major campaign opened, thereby increasing the danger to Richmond; and second, Lee wished to spare Northern Virginia the distress of a Union occupation during the winter of 1863–64.[3]

On October 8, 1863, Meade was alerted by the unusual activity of Lee's troops.[4] Fearing a flanking movement, the Union commander ordered a withdrawal along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad.[5] The element of surprise was thereby lost to Lee, since a flanking movement was exactly what Lee intended[6] and any hope of inflicting a severe blow on Meade's army was considerably reduced, if not entirely eliminated.

The series of skirmishes which characterized the retreat of Meade until the Army of the Potomac was finally entrenched at Bull Run is known as the Bristoe, Virginia, Campaign.[7] On October 14, 1863, at Bristoe Station,[8] on the Orange and Alex-

[1] Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), III, 169.

[2] See map 1.

[3] Freeman, *Lee*, III, 170.

[4] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Ser. 1, XXIX, part 1, 229–30. Hereinafter cited as *O. R.*

[5] See maps 1 and 2.

[6] *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXIX, part 1, 406.

[7] *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXIX, part 1, 212–13.

[8] See map 2.

andria Railroad, Meade's Second Corps, under Major General Gouverneur Warren, which was acting as rear guard, was attacked by elements of the Confederate army under the command of General A. P. Hill. Fire from the Union troops, protected by the breastworks formed by the railroad embankment, swept the advancing Confederate flank and the loss was such as to cause the Confederate brigades to fall back. The action was over, even before Lee reached the scene, and night brought an end to any additional developments.[9] Meanwhile, the main body of Meade's army was now entrenched at Bull Run and Lee decided to pursue no further. Officially, the Bristoe, Virginia, Campaign is listed as ending on October 22, 1863,[10] but the results were not especially conclusive to either army.

Embodied in the impersonality of the military phrase "a series of skirmishes" lies the intensely personal experience of the individual soldier. It was during one such skirmish at Auburn, Virginia, early on the morning of October 14, 1863, the day of the battle of Bristoe Station, that George Hegeman, the author of this diary,[11] was wounded and captured.

Some facts concerning George Hegeman have been obtained from photocopies of his service and pension records, furnished by the National Archives, Washington, D. C., and now in the possession of the Society. We know that Hegeman first enlisted for thirty days, from Brooklyn, New York, in Company B of the 13th New York National Guard. On July 21, 1863, also in Brooklyn, he was mustered out. At this time Hegeman's age was listed as eighteen years.

The facts of his second enlistment are somewhat curious. On September 14, 1863, under the alias of "Henry Thomas," Hegeman enlisted from New York City in Company B, 52d New York Regiment. His age is recorded as twenty-six, his occupa-

[9] Freeman, *Lee*, III, 181.
[10] *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXIX, part 1, 213.
[11] Gift of Mrs. Edith Blaisdell, Whitestone, New York, July 19, 1956, to The New-York Historical Society.

tion as "sailor," and he is described as a "substitute."[12] Whether or not Hegeman adopted the alias of the man for whom he substituted is not known at present. We do know, according to Hegeman's diary and his service records, that one month after this second enlistment he was captured, and spent the next fourteen months in Confederate prison camps. He was paroled on December 17, 1864, at Charleston, South Carolina. From that date, until officially mustered out July 1, 1865, the service records list his name for most of the period on the muster rolls of various hospitals. Ironically, in view of his prison camp experiences, he was entered on the record as deserting at Bristoe Station, Virginia. This unhappy error was corrected when Hegeman finally appeared at Annapolis, Maryland, to which he had been sent following his release from prison, and his service records were adjusted.

Another equally important adjustment appeared in an affidavit, dated October 14, 1915, in support of Hegeman's pension claim. On this form he is listed as George W. Hegeman, *alias* Henry Thomas, thereby officially concluding, as it were, the merger of these two names. The affidavit is signed by George W. Hegeman and this signature matches that which appears in his diary. According to this same affidavit Hegeman was born in Flatbush, Brooklyn, New York, March 4, 1845. This confirms the fact that at the time of his first enlistment in 1863, as George Hegeman, he was, as stated, eighteen years of age. Hegeman's correct age is further confirmed by him in his diary when, on March 4, 1864, he notes that he is nineteen years of age.

This affidavit states also that on February 28, 1872, George W. Hegeman was married by a Justice of the Peace in Brooklyn to Emily Anderson. From this union two children were born: Calvin P. (December 2, 1872) and Minnie(May 10, 1876).

When Hegeman filed his original claim for a pension, on April

[12] In his report of the Bristoe Campaign, Colonel Paul Frank, of the 52d New York Regiment, stated that his regiment was chiefly composed of new recruits, "most of them substitutes." *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXIX, part 1, 266.

15, 1913, he listed himself as a clerk, living in Port Washington, New York, and noted that he was incapable of performing manual labor because of rheumatism which had been contracted while a prisoner of war.

In the transcript of George Hegeman's diary which follows, his spelling has not been altered. For purposes of readability, however, punctuation and his rather unorthodox use of capital letters have been somewhat changed. The few instances of illegible words are indicated by ellipsis marks. With the exception of these minor changes, the text appears as originally written.

October 8, 1863: We have lost some very nice young men; the men throughout the fight behaved splendidly.[13] I hope we will have a good rest, the men are utterly worn out. We hardly eat anything during the two days we were fighting. My canteen got a ball just through the center and I have to return thanks to Almighty God for bringing me safe through this terrible carnage.

Oct. 9, 10 A.M. Have just mailed letter home. I suppose friends are anxious to learn whether am still on top of ground. Our Colonel[14] says we captured some 3000 prisoners: Several deserters came in last night: They say Lee intends to turn our flank soon and get into Washington before we can get there.[15] Two men who were wounded in the fight belonging to my company died at noon today and were buried this afternoon.

[October] 10, 8 A.M. We are all being served with ammunition; every man eighty rounds and provisions are coming in wagons. The air is mild. 5 P.M. Aid's-de-camp have been here to th[e] Colonel's tent. 6 P.M. Just received marching orders. "*Ho* for *Washington*." We march [tomorrow *crossed out*] tonight at 12.

[October] 11. 10 A.M. On the march since midnight, very tired, cut my knapsack off crossing stream. Get this opportunity to write while halting to get a drink. We are going in the direction of Centerville[16] and we march rapidly.

[13] As Meade withdrew along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, the proximity of the two armies, Union and Confederate, resulted in skirmishes. *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXIX, part 2, 313.

[14] Colonel Paul Frank commanded the 52d N. Y. Regiment from November 1, 1861, to November 9, 1864. Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1912), II, 2416, 2424.

[15] See note 6.

[16] Centerville, Fairfax County, Virginia, about 24 miles west of Alexandria. See map 1.

[October] 12th. 12 M. Just got time to write. All expect another battle; God save me. Marched 22 miles; very tired and very little rest. It is said Lee will outflank us and get into Washington ahead of us but I think not. 8 P.M. A little rest for half hour: very tired, could sleep standing. Fine night.

[October] 13th, 10 A.M. Passed Catlett Station.[17] It is said Lee will sack Washington this time. Had no chance to make or get any coffee or anything warm to eat since we started on this march. 6 P.M. Been a beautiful afternoon, saw some prisoners brought in who were following us up. It is rumored we are close to the Rebs. 12 P.M. (midnight campfire) We have halted at last after one of the most fatiguing marches I ever was on: the Rebs are not far from us and tomorrow may see another fight for the mastery. The men are all wrapt in sound sleep, God watch over and keep us—

October 15th, 1863: Yesterday I was in my Regiment, today I am a Prisoner of War. Yesterday another obstinate-fought battle. I don't know whether the Rebs or Yanks were victorious. My face is much swollen from a small wound in the cheek caused by a buckshot coming right through and lodging between my teeth and a still more painful wound in the thigh. A Reb doctor probed the wound and found the ball, which I will keep as a memento of the fight.

On the morning of the 14th the Rebs shelled our camp vigorously. Most of the boys were making coffee,[18] I with the rest, but the shots fell so fast that I was obliged to throw it away after burning my mouth. Came an aide to the Colonel, he immediately gives the command to fall in. We are not to encumber ourselves with knapsacks but we must take that battery which is dealing out death so copiously. Our Regiment, the 56, 66 and 64 are ordered to do this nice little job. The line of battle forms, we move across a potato field at the double quick, pass through a small piece of wood and come on to them at the left or west of the hill. The gunners did not notice us till we were within 100 yds of them. They turned the guns on us and give us grape and cannister. It staggered the men for an instant but they quickly recovered and charged up the hill double quick. They fell very fast. The gunners stood most of them till they were bayonetted at their guns. Spiked the guns and retreated down the hill but soon saw we were completely cut off from the main army by a whole division of Rebs. We had near 2000 men so fell back to a hazel nut-grove when their cavalry came up, emptied many saddles and then

[17] On the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. See map 2.

[18] Colonel Frank reported that about 5 A.M. [October 14, 1863] his "men [were] directed to cook coffee." While thus engaged artillery fire burst upon them from the rear. *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXIX, part 1, 265. This action occurred at Auburn, Virginia, (see map 2) about four miles from Catlett's Station, as reported by Lt. Col. Charles G. Freudenberg of the 52d N.Y. *Ibid.*, 267. Both officers praised the conduct of the men in the Regiment during the engagement.

Position of Stuart's cavalry, night of Oct. 13–14, 1863, showing the lines of march of the Federal columns.

From *R. E. Lee, A Biography*, by Douglas Southall Freeman (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), III, 178. By permission of the publisher.

MAP 2

displayed a Flag of Truce, and were quickly surrounded and taken. Gen. Stewart[19] told his men to go for anything they wanted and if necessary to strip us which they quickly commenced to do.[20] One fellow took my boots, another my oil cloth blanket and another wanted my knife, but I didn't see it. I broke the blade off.

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon they started us on the march for Culpeper, with a wound in my thigh almost killing me. When we had walked a mile, fainted from loss of blood. Was put into an ambulance and arrived at Culpepper that night. Men quartered in an old church, kept there two days huddled up half starved, expecting each day to die. The ball having been extracted at last, my face also very, very sore. I felt very miserable. The third day we started for Warrenton.[21] Was through the kindness of the reb doctor carried in the ambulance and on the second day arrived at Warrenton. The Reb Ladies who before when our army

[19] General J. E. B. ("Jeb") Stuart (1833–1864), Lee's dashing cavalry officer.

[20] Thousands of Lee's soldiers were actually barefooted on the march. *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXIX, part 1, 408. This fact may explain the actions of the cavalrymen.

[21] See map 2.

passed through the town were all Union now came out in their true colors and gave us a beautiful blessing: using the choicest language.

We were all drove into a little jail like a flock of sheep. Rations were given us consisting of one *dam hard* tack, in fact so hard you could not break it on a stone. We had to soak them for 3 hours. A piece of bacon 2 inches by 2½ and was cured at the time Washington's army was in Virginia, 1775, and a pint of water to the man. Here we stayed 2 days. We then started for Richmond. We were after marching 20 miles across the Rapidan, placed in close freight-cars, packed in close and the doors closed as soon as we arrived in sight of Richmond so we could not see the defences of the city. We were nearly smothered. When we got out we were first marched to Pemberton Building,[22] not far from Libby prison[23] and immediately received rations consisting of ¼ of a small loaf of rye bread and pint of water twice. [*Several words inked out.*] From thence we were taken to Libby, kept a few hours, received the same rations. We were then marched across the river to Bell Isle[24] where there is now some 8000 prisoners all told. There are some old prisoners who have already been prisoners 3 and 4 months.

Oct. [19th?], 1863: Been miserable rainy day. Have been all afternoon putting up an old Sibley tent given us by the officers of the prison. 6 P.M. just received our rations consisting of rye bread, ¼ small loaf, and swill, denominated bean soup, made by taking a pail full of black peas and pouring over them a barrel of hot water, let it stand all night by morning it is sour. It is then given to the prisoners, a ½ pint being the ration for each man. We were very hungry and were hardly satisfied with the small ration we received. I am under the care of the Surgeon. He says he will have my wound healed in one week. I am afraid the wound in my cheek will disfigure me for life. We have each bought a blanket and 6 of us are now safe inside the old tent. The top looks like a pepper box, it is so perforated with holes and the rain comes through and falls on our faces as we lay down to sleep.

Oct. 20th, 9 A.M.: This is a dreary day, still raining and no signs of abatement. Have already found to our sorrow the ground is actually

[22] A large tobacco warehouse, in Richmond, facing across from Belle Isle.

[23] Libby Prison, next to Andersonville, was the most notorious of Confederate prisons. Formerly the warehouse of Libby and Sons, ship-chandlers and grocers, the prison was located in the southeast section of Richmond (on the corner of Twentieth and Cary Streets) on the bank of the "James River Canal." A. O. Abbott, *Prison Life in the South* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1886), pp. 24 ff. The building was originally used as a prison to house Union officers captured in the first Battle of Bull Run. Overcrowding and shortages of food and supplies caused great suffering among the prisoners. F. F. Cavada, *Libby Life* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1865).

[24] An island in the James River used, after 1862, as a prison site for captured enlisted Union soldiers. Toward the end of 1863 from 6,000 to 10,000 men were confined in an area sufficient for 3,000. *O. R.* Ser. 2, VI. 1087.

EXTERIOR VIEW OF LIBBY PRISON, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

After a sketch by Captain Harry E. Wrigley, Topographical Engineer

Woodcut from *Harper's Weekly*, October 17, 1863

alive with vermin so that it becomes necessary to strip ourselves 2 or 3 times a day and skirmish, as it is called, all over our clothing in quest of this worse than Egyptian Plague. 5 P.M. Received one ration today of ¼ loaf rye bread, ½ pint swill. They say the bakery is played out, and we will get meal hereafter instead of bread. We have a street running to the center of the camp called Broadway, and a very busy scene is presented to the eye. Here trading in all its diferent phases is carried on and even gambling. I wonder if they think of me at home.

Oct. 21st, 10 A.M. Clear and chilly. Received ration of pint of very coarse meal and teaspoonful of salt, cooked the [*two words inked out*] to mush and eat it all. Now understand that it is all we will get for a ration hereafter. 4 P.M. Saw Richmond Whig[25] newspaper give an account of the Battle in which we were captured. Says Rebs took 4500 prisoners and Yanks took about 3000, and also that the 2 armies met at Centreville on the 16th and Lee was totally defeated and driven back.[26]

[25] *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, October 20, 1863.

[26] Actually, Lee was confined to his tent on October 16, 1863. The army was also inactive on this date which was a day of heavy rain. Freeman, *Lee*, III, 185.

UNION PRISONERS AT BELLE ISLE, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

After a sketch by Captain Harry E. Wrigley, Topographical Engineer

Woodcut from *Harper's Weekly*, October 17, 1863

Stewart killed[27] and the Yanks in full pursuit. Hurrah for such glorious news.

Oct. 22d, A.M. Got ration this morning same as yesterday; hardly enough to sustain life. We must before long get weak and sick. My wound is healing rapidly. Some Union officers on parole of honor were over here to see the boys. They all regretted seeing us in the deplorable condition they found us and tried to cheer the boys' spirits by telling them they thought we would soon be exchanged.

Oct. 23, A.M. Got rations at 10 o'clock same as day before. Weather clear but chilly, wind N.E. Went out on Brdway[28] and effect a trade. Was quite successful, having made an extra ration of meal and piece of soap: This is terrible, this inaction. I walk the circuit of the prison 3 or 4 times pr day to prevent stiffness. P.M. Cold with indications of rain. One man killed another on street with an axe for stealing his blanket.

Oct. 24, A.M. Cold, chilly rain, it is now eleven o'clk and have not yet had any rations. Could eat a cat if I had one. New York soldiers and Kentucky soldiers have a fight, 2 Kentuckians killed, 1 N.Y. The Reb

[27] This statement is incorrect. Stuart was wounded on May 11, 1864, in the fight to head off Sheridan's raid on Richmond. He died the following day. *Ibid.*, 327.

[28] The main prison street, so named by the prisoners.

officers look on and laugh, say would like to see all in a fight and all be killed. 5 P.M. Got ration at 2 P.M. Eat the meal raw, could not wait to cook it. May the good Lord above deliver us from this terrible pen.

Oct. 26, AM: Received ration at 9 o'clock, also 4 spoonfuls beans. Cooked alltogether made a queer mux, all the same if stone soup. Went out to trade this morning; prices of diferent necessaries and comforts, viz: meal pr quart 40 cts., Salt pr spoonful 30 cts., beans pr pint 1.00, tobacco pr plug 50 and 75 cts.

Oct. 27, A.M. Rations recd at 9 o'clock. Made ash cake; baked in hot ashes. Baked it so hard could knock a man's brains out with. Soaked and then eat it. Sunday past without any more notice than any other day. Men become reckless. None seems to fear death although it stares us all in the face daily. 10 P.M. Had some good singing early this evening. About to retire.

October 29, A.M. 11. No ration received yet. Hundreds are standing by the gates looking toward Richmond which is in plain sight of us. Have had heavey rains in upper country as the James River is much swollen. 5 P.M. No rations received today. Rebs say they could not bring rations across river until the flood goes down. Will get fat at this rate. Won't sing tonight, postponed.

Oct. 30th, 12 M. Received rations at 10, could not wait to cook it, eat it raw. Felt like eating tacks it is so coarse. Witnessed fight between 2 men, both plucky. Wind N.W. Cold.

Oct. 31st. Wind north, cold. Got ration at 9 o'clock. Went to Burrial ground to see comrade buried. Burrial ground contains over 900 graves. I pray God I may not leave my bones here. P.M. Wind N.E., very chilly.

Nov[ember] 1st, [1863] A.M. Wind N.E.—Cold. Man shot this A.M. for being to near the bank. Guard boasts he will get a furlough for doing the cowardly deed. P.M. Still cold. Been down to river washing, been singing tonight.

Nov. 2d, A.M. Wind N. E., still cold. We suffer nights from the cold. P.M. In wrestling, wound broke out again, very painful, lost much blood.

Nov. 3, A.M. Am easier; hope to be able to go out in a couple of days. Saw this P.M. Richmond Enquirer, talks of exchange of prisoners. Still cold.

Nov. 4, A.M. Wind E. with damp, misty rain. Feel very low-spirited, often think of dear ones at home.

Nov. 5, A.M. General Neal Dow[29] of Maine Liquor Law notoriety

[29] Neal Dow (1804–1897), twice Mayor of Portland, Maine, was a noted temperance reformer who had been instrumental in passing a prohibition law in that State. Dow was wounded at the battle of Port Hudson, Louisiana, in June 1863 and captured on June 30, 1863, while convalescing. Neal Dow, *The Reminiscences of Neal Dow* (Portland, Maine: The Evening Express Publishing Co., 1898), 699.

visited us this morning. He gave us cheering news of being exchanged. He is held as a hostage by the Rebs. This P.M. wind E. Mild rain.

Nov. 6. Wind S.W. Weather pleasant. Traded this morn, got tobacco and soap. 8 men burried, sick since morn with bad headache.

Nov. 7, A.M. Wind S.W. Mild, pleasant. Saw Richmond Whig, another battle, Yanks whipped, many prisoners. P.M. Some prisoners were brought from the city.

Nov. 8, A.M. Only recd ½ pint meal for ration today. Will starve at this rate. No swill. Rebel Chaplain came to pray with us. Men hoot him out and tell him to pray for Jeff Davis.

Nov. 9, A.M. Wind W. mild. Ration ½ pint meal. We all begin to look and feel thin. Oh, when shall we be taken from this horrible place. P.M. We had prayer meeting this Eve which was well attended. May the Lord turn the hearts of some of these very bad men.

Nov. 10, A.M. Wind W. pleasant. A hog came in camp at midnight and the men in our tent killed him. This is a real treat to us. The pork is very good. P.M. Wind chand [*sic*] to S.W., signs of rain.

Nov. 11, A.M. Wind S.W., indications of rain. Another man shot on dead line. P.M. Raining hard.

Nov. 12, A.M. Still raining. Had good breakfast, fried pork. P.M. Smallpox broke out in camp. Raining.

Nov. 13. Wind W., raining. Consultation and examination of prisoners by rebel surgeons. They conclude the whole camp had better be vaccinated.

Nov. 14, A.M. Wind N.W., clear and cold. Burned the knees out of my pants; don't no where to get another pair nor even a patch from. P.M. Surgeons have commenced to vaccinate the prisoners.

Nov. 15. Wind N.W. *Cold*. Small rations today, no salt.

Nov. 16, A.M. Clear and cold. Good rations today. P.M. Some prisoners came from city.

Nov. 17, A.M. Lot New Yorkers made raid on mean fellow who had sausages for sale. Cleaned him and sausages clean out.

Nov. 18, A.M. Clear and still cold. Heard there were prisoners to be paroled today; can't say how true the rumor is.

Nov. 19. Wind S.W. Clear and mild. More prisoners from the city, some lately captured. P.M. Looks rainy. Would like if possible to hear from home. Have already written 3 letters home.

Nov. 20. Wind W., clear and a little colder. No news today.

[November] 21, A.M. Kilpatrick[30] said to have raided within one mile of Richmond. No other news.

[November] 21st, A.M. Clear and cold. Wrote another letter home. P.M. Have been down to river to wash.

[30] Brigadier- (later Major-) General Hugh Judson Kilpatrick (1836–1881). In this Northern Virginia campaign Kilpatrick was the Union counterpart of "Jeb" Stuart. In 1864 Kilpatrick was attached to Sherman's army in the famous "march to the sea."

[November] 22d, P.M. Clear and very cold; so cold my teeth chatter as I write. Would to God we could be delivered from these Philistines.

[November] 23, A.M. Clear but not so cold. Got very small ration. Beef —just enough to make us think of beef.

[November] 24. Wind W., not very cold. Small ration of pork, 1 x 2 inches square and thick in proportion. A man stole a guard's blanket off the bank, guard saw him, man ran into a large crowd of men, guard fired into crowd, killed 2, wounded 1.

[November] 25, A.M. Wind W., cold. Ration ½ pint meal, 3 spoonsful black peas, ½ teaspoon salt. How would some New York dandy like that for a bill of fare.

[November] 26, P.M. Have been busy all morning trading and all afternoon thinking, but find it won't do to think of home much here as I would soon shuffle off this mortal coil.

[November] 27, P.M. Wind N.W. Clear and cold. My chum raised a good blanket which will keep us much warmer nights. We are beginning to suffer from the cold.

Nov. 28. Wind W. N. W. Clear and cold. Got pint-meal and spoonful salt. Today another man killed by the guard near the gate. No news lately from army.

Nov. 29, A.M. Got Richmond Whig this morn;[31] tells of a defeat to Reb cavalry by Kilpatrick. Men they say Kilpatrick commands is splendidly organized but theirs is demoralized.

Nov. 30, P.M. Wind W., clear but a little hazy. The hard fare and small rations begin to tell on us. We all begin to look thin and many are dying. Many are taken to hospital but they never return.

Dec[ember] 1st. [1863] Wind N.W. Cold, and men in our tent went to the hospital in Richmond. Poor fellows, they will never come out alive.

Dec. 2d, P.M. Clear and cold. Am afraid to go out much, my blood is so thin the winds goes right through me. Small ration today.

Dec. 3d, A.M. Clear, windy. P.M. Rebs on other side of river testing guns, throw shells right over camp, men all hurah.

Dec. 4, P.M. No ration today. We are all held responsible for the escape of 2 prisoners and have to suffer the pangs of hunger.

Dec. 5, A.M. Clear and windy. Better ration today, eat part of it. Saw some prisoners come in camp, were captured on the 29th at Bermuda Hundred.[32]

Dec. 6 P.M. Clear and cold. Good rations today; ration of pork 2 by 3 inches. Two men killed in camp today.

Dec. 7, A.M. Wind N.E., cold and chilly. Smaller ration today. Oh, how long are we to be kept like brutes!

[31] *Richmond Whig and Public Advertiser*, November 13, 1863.

[32] Bermuda Hundred, Virginia, between the James and Appomattox Rivers.

Dec. 8, P.M. I don't think we will be exchanged this winter. However, I must not murmer nor fret. I am not the only one.

Dec. 9, A.M. Clear and cold. It is said that the Reb surgeons introduced poisonous matter into the system of those they vaccinated and several have died and one or two are about to loose their arms.

Dec. 10. A.M. Wind N. and cold. Have been in the tent since yesterday morn; my wound feeling as if it would break out again. More prisoners came in today.

Dec. 11th. P.M. This has been a sad day to me. Another very fine young man, a chum, has died and I feel very lonsome. May the good Lord preserve my life till I can see my home and friends once more.

Dec. 12th. A.M. I have been sick all night, 2 others also sick. Wind N.E., very cold. Rumors are rife in camp of Rebel commissioners making arrangements for an exchange of prisoners before many days. Tom Flauer, a Baltimore rough stabbed to the heart by Grant. Was . . . rations small today. P.M. More rumours of exchange. May it be true. Wind E. Rain.

Dec. 13. W.E. Rain and sleet. A man buried today with Masonic honors who died in next tent last night. Camp Seargeant reports mortality on the increase.

Dec. 14. A.M. Ration 2 . . . meal, 2 spoonsful beans, ½ spoon salt. Understand from Reb Lieutenant Comdg. here there is to be a bake house put up immediately instead of giving us raw meal to bake it on the Island into *Corn Dodgers*.[33] Wind N.E., cold.

Dec. 15, A.M. Wind N. E. . . . cold. Plenty of rumors of exchange this A.M. Hear that some of Kilpatrick's men are prisoners over in the city. We occasionally hear that it is all quiet on the Potomac. P.M. Cold. Crowd of N. Y. roughs[34] fighting with fists, knives, clubs and stones and hear that one has been killed, and 2, it is feared, mortally wounded already.

Dec. 16. M. Surgeons very busy vaccinating prisoners. Smallpox on the increase. Several deaths reported this morning. Still hear rumors of exchange.

Dec. 17. P.M. Wind N. and clear and cold. Had copy of Richmond Whig; Rebel Congress to put important Bills before Jeff Davis at next Session to prosecute the war in the coming spring campaign with a determination worthy of a people struggling to throw of [*sic*] this most oppressive yoke! It is really a pity to hear these valliant sons of the South howl.

[33] Cakes made of Indian meal baked under embers until firm.

[34] An added misery to the prisoners on Belle Isle was the gang of roughs "most of whom were bounty-jumpers from New York, who had been taken prisoners before they had a chance to desert and re-enlist." William B. Hesseltine, "Civil War Prisons," *Ohio State University Contributions in History and Political Science*, No. 12 (1930), 128.

Dec. 18. A.M. Clear and cold. 3 prisoners escaped last night. Rebs threatened to starve us all in consequence. Hope they won't. One of men who was in the fight with the N. Y. roughs died today of wounds received. . . .

Dec. 19. M. Clear and cold. We are shivering in the tent today. Last night could hardly sleep for the cold and I am thankful my dear ones at home are ignorant of what I have to endure here. Could the authorities at Washington know what the country's defenders suffer as prisoners of war I don't think they would hesitate to make some arrangements to have us exchanged. It is laughable to hear some of the young men and boys from the rural districts talk of the goodies, pies and puddings their mothers made at home, and actually smacking their lips over the recollection. P.M. Cold.

Dec. 20. A.M. W.N.E. Cold. Rebs have finished the bake house and tomorrow we recieve our rations in the shape of a slice of Corn Dodger. They have been practicing with artillery all the morning across the river and throwing shells over our camp regardless of the loss of life if one should drop in camp where there are now 12,000 of us huddled together in a small space of three acres of land.

[December] 21st. A.M. Wind N. Clear and cold. More rumors of exchange today. No ration yet. P.M. Recieved ration at 2 P.M. consisting of slice 5 in. x 3 in. and 1 inch thick. This it is said will be the regular ration of bread hereafter.

[December] 22d. A.M. W.N.W. Clear and cold. A prisoner hoisted on a little flagstaff the stars and stripes and when it was flung to the breeze there was a prolonged shout from 10,000 throats which made the guards tremble. They no doubt thought we were about to make a break for liberty. The Rebs soon ordered the flag taken down and the owner tied by the thumbs.

[December] 23. Wind N.E. Cold and raw. Man shot on deadline 8 A.M. Just received slice Corn Dodger for ration. Heard firing last night in direction of Danville and Virginia Canal. No news of importance recieved today.

[December] 24, A.M. Another raid by N. Yorkers on sausage vender. They take all his bolgna. Clear and cold. The smoke from the green wood we recieve is making my eyes very weak. May the Lord soon deliver us from the hands of these civilized brutes.

[December] 25. M. Wind N.W. Clear and cold. Same ration except 3 spoonsful beans and some salt.

[December] 26. P.M. Wind N., clear and cold. Dog killed belonging to Reb comandant of prison. Got ½ quarter in our mess, men in next tent got rest. This is the first time I ever tasted dog. I consider it wholesome and nourishing without the taint one would naturally suppose dog meat had.

[December] 27. Wind N.E., clear and cold. More rumors of exchange today. Some more prisoners from the city joined us today. My eyes are getting so weak I can hardly see to write. P.M. Wind N. E.

[December] 28. M. No ration as yet. Clear and cold. Men are talking of making an effort to overpower the guard and free ourselves. P.M. 5 o'clock, no ration yet. Chewing tobacco to keep from going mad.

[December] 29, A.M. Just recieved pretty good-sized ration and beans and salt. Just read Richmond Whig, both armies are quiet. The tone of the editorials are very loud and of the bragadosio style.

[December] 30th. Wind N.E., cold and damp, looks like rain. The Rebs are extending their prison to give us a little more room. Ration today half cooked.

[December] 31st. Plenty of talk of exchange today but hardly credit such rumors lately. There appears to be great commotion in Richmond this morning. Cannon were fired, bells were rung and we hoped Kilpatrick cavalry were coming, but no such good luck. Tomorrow we will know the cause of the rumpus.

Jan[uary] 1st. [1864] Wind N.W., clear and cold. Very cold last night. Camp Sargeant reports the mortality increasing very rapidly. Many of the poor fellows have gone to their acct since coming here. 2 P.M. Several young ladies came over from the city in a boat to see what a Yank looks like and see how miserable they can make them.

[January] 2d. N.W. Clear but warmer. No important news this A.M. 4 P.M., wind veering round to southard. Got ration of pork, 2 x 1½ inches. Provisions in Richmond are very high. For instance, towit: a bbl flour $100.00 dollars in Confederate money, $30 dollars in greenbacks. Pork pr lb, $4.00 dollars in Confed, 50 cts greenbacks, and everything with the exception of tobacco in like ratio.

[January] (3) A.M. Wind WSW. Mild as May morning. More rumors of exchange from new guards from city. They say the U.S. transports are at City Point[35] waiting for the prisoners to come down. P.M. The exchange rumors gain credence all over this P.M.

[January] (4th) M. Wind S.W., quite mild and clear. Great excitement in camp over the rumors of an early exchange of prisoners (God grant it may be true). P.M. Looks like rain.

[January] (5th) A.M. Wrote 2 more letters home, I sincerely wish I could receive some news from home.

Jan. 6th A.M. Wind S. mild, rain. Plenty of rumors this A.M. of an exchange of prisoners. 17 deaths reported yesterday. Rebel Commissioners of Exchange said to be making arrangements for immediate exchange.

[35] City Point, Prince George County, Virginia, on the James River at the mouth of the Appomattox, about nine miles northeast of Richmond. City Point was one of the specified areas wherein transfers of prisoners took place.

[January] 7. A.M. Wind S. E. A little more cool and still raining. No very particular news this morning. Recieved ration of pork in addition to regular ration: 6 P.M. Fresh rumors of exchange. It is said it will commence in 2 or 3 days.

Jan. 8th. A.M. Another soul departed from our midst last night, orderly seargeant John L. Runyon, Troop C, 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry, a very fine man and thoroughbread gentleman. "*Requieatcat in pace.*" Truly in the midst of life we are in death.

Jan. 9. A.M. Wind S.W. Clearing. Mild and quite warm. Some of the sick are to be paroled today, is another rumor that seems to be believed. P.M. Recieved letter from home, took much pleasure in reading the contents. I am thankful they are not aware of our real sufferings here.

Jan. 10. M. Wind N.W. Cold; sick are being paroled outside of gate of the camp. None but those about to die are taken and they (the Rebs) will recieve their own men in good condition. P.M. Cold raining still going on.

[January] 11th. A.M. 350 men thus far paroled. Was examined this morning by physician. He decided I must stay a little longer as I did not look like dying soon. Saw a large funeral cortege at 2 P.M. going toward Halliwood Cemetery.[36] Suppose it was the funeral of some high official(*Militaire*).

[January] 12th. M. Wind W. Warmer. Paroling still going on; 150 men have been paroled. This P.M. one of officers, a prisoner in Richmond, visited us today. Says he thinks all of us will be paroled in short time as the Commissioners of Exchange are at City Point making arrangements to that effect.

Jan. 13th. A.M. Wind W., quite warm. 150 more paroled yesterday. Richmond Whig brought into camp by guard, reported raid by Kilpatrick's cav. on Da[n]ville, Petersburgh and Richmond railroad, tearing up trac [*sic*]. . . . Prayer meeting this P.M. Rebel preacher from Richmond officiating. No conversions reported.

Jan. 14th. M. Wind S.W. Warmer. Very small ration today, viz. a slice of Corn Dodger, about 3¼ inches in length by 2½ in width, ¼ inch thick, bean swill, and teaspoonful salt. Paroling going on. It is reported that 1100 men are to be paroled. Part of the Reb prisoners included in the exchange arrived at Richmond via City Point. P.M. A man belonging to First Lincoln Cavalry shot dead on deadline. Weather still mild.

[January] 15th. Men in camp talk again of overpowering the guard and making our escape[37] There are plenty of traitors in camp who would

[36] Hollywood Cemetery. This burial ground, dedicated in 1849, was Richmond's first private cemetery. W. Asbury Christian, *Richmond: Her Past and Present* (Richmond: L. H. Jenkins, 1912), 163–65.

[37] The authorities in Richmond were conscious of the danger to the city from

sell themselves and their comrades in arms for a little consideration from the Rebels. Some of this class have informed the officer in command of this island of the contemplated rising and several Reb officers in disguise are in the camp learning what they can.

[January] 16th. A.M. There are 3 12-pounder guns bearing on us this morning from the Richmond side of the river. Two more guns have been brought over to the island on an old scow and are now bearing down on camp from the surrounding hills. P.M. Two more guns were brought over this afternoon and are also bearing on camp.

[January] 17, A.M. Wind S. Mild rain. Notwithstanding that the guards have been doubled around camp 3 more men escaped last night. The Rebs threaten to annihilate us all if we make the faintest attempt to escape. Paroling still going on.

[January] 18, M. Wind S. W. Clearing and warm. Reb gunners standing by, their guns bearing on the camp. Small ration again today. Am looking *very very* thin and I feel thin. We will all at this rate soon be living skeletons. P.M. Rebs have been throwing shell over camp for two hours to intimidate us.

[January] 19, A.M. Two more men are reported to have escaped last night and the Rebs consequently talk of increasing the guard. Camp seargeant reports 14 deaths yesterday and last night. The smallpox has abated somewhat. Did not get our ration till noon today. No person who has never experienced the pangs of hunger has any idea of the terrible gnawing sensation it gives to the stomach. I have already seen men go stark mad for the want of nourishment.

Jan. 20. M. Have stopped paroling prisoners. Just recieved ration; no swill today but raw beans, 4 spoonfuls and 2 x 3 squessy rich rusty bacon and slice bread. Reported raid of U S Cav in direction of Richmond yesterday.

Jan. 21st. A.M. Wind W. mild and clear. Same ration today as yesterday. Boiler exploded in the iron foundry here on the island and killed 2 men. Are beginning to extend the camp to the bank of the river in the event of more prisoners being sent here. About 100 came over from the city this P.M.

[January] 22d. Wind S.W. and clear. Some kind of commotion in Richmond today; can see the crowds around the statues of Washington monument in the Capitol grounds. Flags are flying everywhere. Some victory, no doubt.

Jan. 23d. M. Westerly winds, quite warm. Eyesight improved somewhat. Pretty decent ration today. Rejoicing in Richmond today also. Cant learn the cause. The guards are not at all communicative. Last night

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thousands of Union prisoners. On October 28, 1863, Lee noted that Richmond was not a proper place for prisoners. *O. R.* Ser. 2, VI, 438–39.

a man belonging to an Ohio Regt brained another with an axe for stealing his blanket. On a quarrel this P.M. one man bit off another's thumb.

[January] 24. Wind veered around to north, quite cold. Plenty of reports of another larger exchange of prisoners. Soon large trade in pies with the guards. The pies have about a dozen pieces of dried apple inside. The crust is thick and will stretch like India rubber. 9 o'clock P.M. Large fire raging in the upper part of city—near the fortifications.

[January] 25th. M. Wind N. W. Clear and cold. About 200 more prisoners sent over from the city—will hardly be standing room here soon if the prisoners continue to arrive at this rate and are sent here. The mortality will be dreadful.

[January] 26. Cold and clear. Plenty of rumors of exchange this morning. Same old ration today and another man died in next tent of smallpox.

[January] 27th. Clear and cold. A rebel regiment started out of Richmond on the march across the high R. R. Bridge across the James River. One of them shot right into this camp. Fortunately the ball killed no one. P.M. Some U. S. officers on parole of honor from the city visited us.

[January] 28. M. Still cold, wind N.W. Rumors of another exchange still rife in camp. Rebs were testing some guns lately cast and threw shell just over camp.

[January] 29th. A.M. Wind north, quite cold. The report this morning is the new exchange of prisoners will commence on the 10th of Feb. May we once more come under the protecting wings of Uncle Sam. Some clothing and food said to have been sent from the North to the prisoners is reported to have arrived yesterday.

[January] 30th. Cold and raw. The rebs have brought over some of the clothing and provisions sent to us, which will be distributed today. Good ration today. P.M. Cold. A fire in Richmond illuminates the whole firmament. A prayer meeting tonight was poorly attended.

Jan. 31st. A.M. Very good ration today consisting of ½ pint pretty good Java coffee, the first I have tasted since I was captured, 2 sugar cakes, 1½ soda crackers, tablespoonful of brown sugar, piece of soap and skein of thread in addition to our regular heavey ration. P.M. Understand clothes will be distributed tomorrow.

Feb[ruary] 1st. 1864. A.M. Wind N. E. Cold and raw. Our own officers are to distribute the clothing to us. P. M. Received one pair pants and one shirt. All who stand in need are recieving clothing.[38]

Feb. 2d. Wind N.W. Cool and clear. Distribution of clothing being still carried on. There are fresh rumors of an early exchange of prisoners. Another comrade passed from our midst last night (Morley). Seemed

[38] The Sanitary Commission did manage to send supplies to the prisoners in Richmond. William Q. Maxwell, *Lincoln's Fifth Wheel* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1956), 307.

resigned and not afraid to meet his Maker. "May Divine Mercy bring me into the right path ere it is too late."

[February] 3d. Clear and cold. Small ration this A.M. Am getting quite weak for want of proper and sufficient food. The guns are still bearing on camp from the same positions and Reb officers in disguise are spying around in camp. Camp Sargeant reports increase of mortality over last week of 8 men.

Feb. 4. Wind north and cold. Camp has been extended to the bank of the river. No important news.

Feb. 5th. Clear and cold. The splinter wound on back of neck getting very sore and hip bone coming through the skin. God help me. I sometimes think I can never possibly leave this place alive. "God forbid." I would prefer to die in a more civilized community or country. Feb. 5, A.M. Wind W. clear. No news.

Feb. 6th. M. More rumors of exchange today. Some Union officers reported to have escaped last night by tunnelling under Libby Prison.[39]

Feb. 7th. P.M. The reported escape of Union officers from Libby Prison is confirmed today by the Richmond newspapers. Wind W. and clear.

Feb. 8th. Wind S. W. Warmer, slight indication of rain. No news of importance today.

Feb. 9. Mild spring rain comes down in beautiful showers. 2 men shot on deadline by guard this morning and both guards got a furlough, it is said.

Feb. 10th. Wind south, still raining but not heavey. The 2 men who were shot were buried today. Am feeling quite unwell.

Feb. 11. A.M. Cleared off beautifully, wind west and quite warm; glorious sunshine, a Godsend to us poor miserable, starving wretches. Oh! but could the people of the North know and see our sufferings we would not be held in durance much longer.

Feb. 12. Wind N.W. Clear and little cool. A fierce battle in camp this A.M. between about a dozen men; 3 of them were dangerously wounded in the affray.

Feb.13. Clear and cold. Saw Richmond Whig News today. No important news from the Army. The pirate Alabamma[40] said to be driving Northern commerce from the seas.

[39] On February 8, 1864, over 100 Union officers escaped from Libby Prison through a tunnel which they had constructed. *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXXIII, 559–60.

[40] The *Alabama* was the most famous of Confederate cruisers. Under Commander Raphael Semmes, the *Alabama* captured 62 Union merchant ships. Eventually, the Union *Kearsage* sank the *Alabama* after an exciting fight in the port of Cherbourg, France. Colver Meriwether, *Raphael Semmes* (Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs & Co., 1913), 285. The international complications resulting from the *Alabama's* raiding–the ship was built in Liverpool–created a major diplomatic issue with England in Grant's first administration.

Feb. 14. Went all over camp to hear the opinion of men in regard to exchange and other news. P.M. Nothing definite could be heard in any direction. Clear and cold.

Feb. 15th. Clear and still cold. Another imposing funeral cortege to be seen from camp today going in the direction of Holliwood Cemetery. Suppose some officer of note.

Feb. 16. Wind. W. A little warmer. No news of any kind to be had today. P.M. The sun set gloriously.

Feb. 17. A.M. Rations received at noon. Can't understand why we should be kept starving all this time. P.M. Rumors of a cavalry fight on the Rapidan.

Feb. 18. More reports of cavl. fight on 15th inst. Clear and a little warmer.

Feb. 19. Wind west, mild and clear. More rumors of another exchange. P.M. Reported Cav. fight of 15 inst. confirmed.

Feb. 20th. M. A better ration today; got pint of bean swill, 5 spoonfuls beans, teaspoonful salt. P.M. Clear and mild, a fine sun set.

Feb. 21st. Wind S.W. quite warm. 3 fine pickeral caught in river by an Ohio soldier, plenty rumors of exchange.

Feb. 22d. Wind S.W. Slight signs of rain. No news.

Feb. 23d. Clear and warm. My eyesight much impaired by smoke from green wood in tent. Exchange rumors plenty.

Feb. 24. Wind N.W. A little cool and feel quite sick. The only medicine to be had is quinine. Rebel Lieutenant commanding the camp informed us we would all soon leave this camp.

Feb. 25. Clear and warm. 3 prisoners said to have escaped last night. No news today.

Feb. 26. Wind west and quite warm. Attended the funeral of another comrade in arms. The burial ground nearly filled. "God help us."

Feb. 27. M. Warm and clear. Can hear the blue birds singing a little distance off. How they rejoice in their freedom. Being confined in this horrible place remainds me of a little bird shut up in a cage.

Feb. 28. The detachments are having the roll call and it is said an exchange or something of the kind is to be commenced today. God grant this is the last act in this terrible drama and the end of our sufferings.

March 1st. [1864] Two detachments left for the city this morning and others are in readiness to follow. P.M. Five detachments in all have left today.

March 2d. M. Two more detachments left this morn. The whole camp is in great glee and wild with excitement at the prospect of once more greeting "The dear old Flag."

March 3d. M. Four new detachments left this morning. All expect to go. P.M. 3 more detachments left this afternoon.

March 4. A.M. The anniversary of my birth. What a contrast with my

last birth day! This day completes my 19th year. God grant my next will be spent at "Home Sweet Home."–how infinitely sweet the words and thought.

March 5th. Clear and quite pleasant. Five detachments or squads left yesterday and 2 more this morn.

March 6th. Wind S.W. Signs of rain. Our detachment is getting ready to start. Good bye to Belle Isle. May it be forever. P.M. We are quartered in Libby Prison having marched over from the Island this morning. A misty rain is falling.

M[ar]ch 7. The guards say we are to be taken to Georgia to another prison but for consolation they tell us we will get plenty to eat there;[41] this old building will be connected with many a tale of prison life long after this cruel war has terminated and peace on all our borders.

March 8. A.M. All is confusion as we are to get ready to embark on the cars for a long ride. Got ration for one and ½ day consisting of 4 large crackers and piece of rusty bacon. 6 O'clock P.M. Stopped at a small town called Amelia.[42] My eye sight is rather poor but think it will improve very soon.

March 10th Yesterday passed through Hampden[43] which is a small town and Marysville,[44] then crossed Staunton River and Banister Riv. and arrived at Danville about 5 P.M. today. There is a large prison pen here[45] and said to be full of Yankee prisoners. Got another days rations, viz 3 large mouldy crackers and piece of rusty bacon. Were allowed to get out of the cars and exercise our limbs, we being much cramped in the cars. The whistle blows for us to embark again.

March 12, P.M. After leaving Danville went at good speed and passed through Wentworth[46] and Salam[47] two small unimportant towns, also Lexington[48] and arrived here at Salisbury.[49] Quite a large town and here also have the Yankees been imprisoned. We were again allowed exercise for our limbs and got some splendid water. Everything is beginning to look green and all nature is smiling.

[41] Andersonville, Georgia, was selected as a prison site when food became scarce in Richmond and the dangers of prison escapes increased. *O. R.* Ser. 2, VI, 558.

[42] Amelia Court House, Amelia County, Virginia.

[43] Hampden Sydney, Prince Edward County, Virginia.

[44] Marysville, Charlotte County, Virginia.

[45] The prison at Danville, Virginia, consisted originally of a number of old tobacco warehouses. On January 27, 1864, the citizens of Danville strongly protested against the conditions of the prison, which, they argued, constituted a danger to the health of the city. *O. R.* Ser. 2, VI, 888–90.

[46] Wentworth, Rockingham County, North Carolina.

[47] Probably Winston-Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina.

[48] Lexington, Davidson County, North Carolina.

[49] Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina. The State Penitentiary at Salisbury was often occupied by Union prisoners. A stockade was also constructed and Confederate deserters were imprisoned at Salisbury. Abbott, *Sketches of Prison Life*, 48.

March 13. M. After leaving Salisbury, passed through two small owns, Concord[50] and Upton and arrived here at Charlotte[51] about 11 'clock. Have been given more exercise and also understand we will lay ver here until tomorrow.

March 14. Clear and warm, a beautiful sunrise. Birds, rejoicing in neir unbounded freedom, are pouring forth their praise in song. How nfinitely happy would us poor mortals be could we be but free.

March 15. Left Charlotte at 11 A.M. Crossed the Catawba River, not very large stream, also passed and stopped at Yorkville[52] which is quite lively town, and Chesterfield[53] and Winsboro,[54] two small towns.

March 16th. M. Last night passed through Columbia, the Capitol of outh Carolina, quite a fine city but small, and crossed the Congaree iver and arrived here at Orangeburgh[55] at 11 A.M., we having another est. The country about here is quite thickly settled and under a good tate of cultivation; cotton fields in abundance and sweet potatoes and eanuts which the Southern people call ground nuts or jubers. Heard vhat is called down here poor white trash talking to the boys, a man bout 40 yrs, and in all my life never heard such ignorant, niggerdly alk before. Most Southerners use a little nigger talk in carrying on conersation.

March 17. Left Orangeburg at 2 P.M., cars not moving very fast. Passed Branchville,[56] a small town at the junction of the Columbia and S. C. R. Roads. Also Hamburgh,[57] and about 6 A.M. [March 18th] stopped little while at Augusta, Georgia, being directly on the state line beween S. Carolina and Georgia and about 12 M arrived at Waynesboro.[58] Will stop here a short time. Am feeling very stiff and cramped.

M[ar]ch 19. Left Waynesboro near 2 P.M. went at good speed and passed through Colton and arrived here at Irwinton[59] near midnight; are o move again in few minutes. A mild spring shower is falling. Country round looks barren, thinly settled.

March 20. 5 P.M. Left Irwinton at 10 o'clk, passed through Macon,[60] beautiful little city: the streets all running at right-angles and equal to

[50] Concord, Cabarrus County, North Carolina.
[51] Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina.
[52] Yorkville, York County, South Carolina.
[53] Chester, Chester County, South Carolina.
[54] Winnsboro, Fairfield County, South Carolina.
[55] Orangeburg, Orangeburg County, South Carolina.
[56] Branchville, Orangeburg County, South Carolina.
[57] Hamburg, Aiken County, South Carolina.
[58] Waynesboro, Burke County, Georgia.
[59] Irwinton, Wilkinson County, Georgia.
[60] In May of 1864, a prison was built at Macon, Georgia, for Union prisoners. This, ike most Southern prisons, was an open-air stockade. The area enclosed by a fence was about 3 acres and built less than a mile east of the city. Abbott, *Sketches of Prison Life*, 61.

the finest and best laid out cities North;[61] also Crawfordsville and Fort Valley,[62] small towns; Oglethrope,[63] and arrived here at Andersonville,[64] a small station on the R.R., is 60 miles from Macon and 10 miles from Americus. We are camped in plain sight of a large pen resembling a cattle pen covering about 20 or 25 acres, and here we are to be imprisoned once more. Hundreds nay thousands will never live to tell the tale of suffering and woe they underwent in this horrible place.

[March] 21st—A.M. Were marched into the prison through a large gate after giving our names, Regt. . . . A more horrible place to keep human beings in confinement could not be conceived. The prison is made by sinking the butt of a tree in the ground about 3 ft and 15 ft above ground, all next to each other closely making a stockade, as it is called, and sentry boxes on top 10 yds apart. Received our rations outside consisting of pint of very coarse meal, the cob hulls and all ground together similar to chicken feed North.

March 22d, M. Signs of rain. Have been taking a walk around the prison taking observations. About 5 or 6 thousand men here, and are divided into detachments or squads with a sargeant. Some 1500 colored soldiers here captured in Florida. We have no tents here. Some take their blankets and make shelter tents of them. Others make little houses of sticks, leaves and sod. Some burrough right into the ground. There are hundreds of these burroughs through the prison.

March 23d. M. Got rations at 10 A.M. ½ pint meal, teaspoonful salt, 4 spoonsfuls black beans. Clear and mild. About 400 more prisoners arrived this morning; also Belle Island prisoners.

March 24. Wind S.W. Clear beautiful sunrise. Flowers all in bloom in the swamps. We are allowed to go out under guard after wood. This prison is located in the midst of a pine barren and viewed from a distance resembles a huge cattle pen.

March 25. P.M. Wind S. clear and mild. One more of my Regiment died. (Myers)[65] We carried him to his last resting place in the quiet wood

[61] Macon was surveyed, in 1823, in the form of a rectangle. John C. Butler, *Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia* (Macon, Ga.: J. W. Burke & Co., 1879), 78.

[62] Fort Valley, Peach County, Georgia.

[63] Oglethorpe, Macon County, Georgia.

[64] In Sumter County, Georgia. Before the war Andersonville had been an insignificant stop on the Southwestern Railroad. The prison was a stockade of about 16½ acres and the prisoners were without shelter, except for what they could erect. The prison area itself was in the shape of a parallelogram. Through the center of the camp a stream of water flowed and on either side of the stream the ground inclined gradually. By July, 1864, there were 29,400 prisoners in the area. *O. R.* Ser. 2, VII, 499, 590, 830–32.

[65] There is no record of a death in Andersonville on this date for a member of the 52d N. Y. Regiment in the *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York* (Albany: J. B. Lyons & Co., 1901), which lists the personnel of the 52d N. Y. Regiment.

NORTHWEST VIEW OF ANDERSONVILLE PRISON STOCKADE

Photo by A. J. Riddle, August 17, 1864, at NYHS

n a stretcher. Have got a hospital outside but the men are fearful of ıtering Reb hospitals as it is generaly understood when a Yank is adıitted he never comes out alive.

March 26 A.M. Have been out in the woods under guard after wood to ook our rations with. Saw another detachment of Yankees who arrived st night from Richmond. P.M. Wind S. indications of rain. Rations oday small.

March 27th M. Wind S. Raining, brings my spirits as low as possible. larch 27th . . . Wind S. still raining. The prisoners who were outside the ıtes came in last night. They numbered 650. The officer in command of ıis prison is a dutchman. The boys call him "The dutch captain."[90] He a thin, nervous looking man and nervous acting, makes a great flourish ·ith his pistol when he calls us d—d Yankee sons of —hes.

March 28th M. Wind N.W. Clear and pleasant. Have roll call every ıorning. Prisoners begin to escape here already, 5 are said to have esıped last night. P.M. More prisoners arrived today.

[90] Captain Henry Wirz was commandant of the prison interior. Of Swiss birth, Virz had been practicing medicine in Louisiana when the war began. He was placed command of the prison stockade early in 1864 and became the most hated official the area. Tried by a military commission in August 1865, Wirz was condemned to ng and was executed in Washington on November 10, 1865.

March 29 Clear and mild. Dutch Captain made a speech to us this morning. Got a pint of meal and a small ration of fresh beef this morning. The old Belle Island prisoners are dying off rapidly; 22 were reported dead at the gates this noon.

March 30 A.M. Wind W. Warm and pleasant. No news of any importance today.

March 31st Mild, the weather is similar to that of May, North. Some of the country people came today to have a look at us terrible Yankees.

April 1st [1864] A.M. Wind W. Mild. 3 more prisoners said to have escaped last night. The dutch Captain says he will starve us if any more escaped and also that he will hunt them down with hounds. The terrible blood hounds that are used in the South to hunt runaway slaves.

April 2d M. Another comrade died last night and buried this morn out in the silent wood far away from those he loved most dear.

April 3d Wind N. A little cool. More prisoners arrived this morning. Richmond reported captured and Lees army on the retreat toward Danville.[67] This P.M. a beautiful sunset.

April 4. A.M. Mild and pleasant. Reports of heavey fighting around Richmond.

April 5 News dull. More prisoners arrived. Some from Allabama and some from Florida, about 9000 here now.

April 6. Mild and warm. Have been out with wood squad as it is called. Each detachment has *one* to get wood to cook rations for them as all our rations are raw. Small though they be.

April 7. A.M. Wind S, quite warm. Smallpox has appeared in this camp and is claiming its victims. It is said that yellow fever, that dread disease, also vomits, a worse type of the same are prevalent in this region. God forbid they should visit this crowded prison.

April 8 A.M. Clear and pleasant. "Do they think of me at home" may they never no how miserable I am. P.M. Another day closes on our misery.

April 9th Feel very miserable this morning, have got a terrible headache and pain in all my joints. Fear some sickness is coming on me. God forbid. P.M. Feel quite ill. A man shot by the guard near the gate this noon.

April 11 Beautiful spring shower falling. Have had quite a sick time for the last two or three days but feel much better today. P.M. About 800 more men arrived yesterday from Danville, Va. They report heavey fighting by the Armies in Virginia.[68]

[67] This situation, curiously enough, almost did take place one year later, but in April, 1864, Richmond was firmly in Confederate hands.

[68] The armies in Virginia at this time were making preparations for the campaign which Grant opened on May 4, 1864 (Battle of the Wilderness). Freeman, *Lee*, III, 218.

April 12. A.M. Clear and pleasant. More prisoners escaped last night nd it is understood we will recieve no rations in consequence. P.M. 5 'clock, no rations recieved yet. We are starved for the misdeeds of thers.

April 13th M. Recieved ½ pint meal, ½ teaspoon salt, 3 tablespoons eans for todays ration. There is a principal street in this prison similar) that on Belle Isle called Broadway where all the trading is carried on. stream of muddy water runs through the center of the prison. Here we et our supply of water. A sink is being built about the centre of the rison and centre of the creek. The stench arising from the vicinity of ne sink is horrible and will create diseases innumerable during the hot reather.

Apr[il] 14 A.M. Signs of rain. About 300 more prisoners arrived this iorning. The mortality is dreadful and steadily on the increase. P.M. Vind S. W. A mild rain falling. Another man shot near the creek this oon.

Apr[il] 15 M. They(the Rebs) are building a little low narrow strip f fence all around the prison called the Deadline. Any man who reaches r steps over this line forfeits his life.

Apr[il] 16 A.M. Wind W. Cleared off beautifully. Went up to both

ANDERSONVILLE PRISON, GEORGIA, AUGUST 17, 1864

Photo by A. J. Riddle at The New-York Historical Society

gates at 10 A.M. and saw 36 dead bodies. Most of them looked as if they had died in the most terrible agony. Exposure, starvation and want are doing their work swiftly and surely. The last resting place of hundreds who are burried here will never be known.

April 17 Clear and warm. No news today. Another friend gone to his final account—four of us carried him out in to the silent woods.

April 18th M. A really fine day. Have been out in the woods after wood. Could hear the birds carrolling in the swamps. All nature is radiant in her Spring garments. There is a most beautiful flower tree grows here in the swamp called the "*Great Bear.*"[69] It generally grows to a heighth of about 10 feet—and has a beautiful large white pettald blossom of a delicious perfume.

April 19 Clear and pleasant. Today was at the creek dipping water and reached a little over dead line when guard shot-direct-at me. He fortunately, for me, hapened to be a poor marksman as the ball struck the slat and thence into the Creek. I was much frightened and hurried off lively. P.M. A beautiful sunset.

April 20 M. Very warm. News scarce. P.M. A heavy thunder shower this P.M. Drowned some out of their nests.

April 21 M. Found a schoolmate and playmate today. Met him accidentally (Wm. Green)[70] 47th N.Y.Vols. captured at Ocean pond, Florida; could not recognize me, thought I looked well starved out. Had long talk over old times and recollections. Will hereafter be near each other.

April 22d Signs of rain. 300 more men arrived this A.M. from Richmond. Say there has been heavey fighting in West Virginia,[71] no other news.

Apr[il] 23d Rainy—camp dull—no news.

Apr[il] 24. Reports of an exchange 1st of next month. P.M. Clearing off. Rebs building forts near the prison.

April 25. Two men shot on dead line today. Understand the guards who shoot a Yankee get a furlough. No news.

Apr[il] 26. Wind N.W. Clear and pleasant. 200 more prisoners arrived this morning. They report an exchange to take place soon. P.M. Another day closes on us poor mortals.

[69] Possibly the "Great-Bay" (*Magnolia grandiflora*). Charlotte Green, *Trees of the South* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), 213 ff.

[70] William H. Green, age 19 years, enlisted at East New York, New York, on September 7, 1861. Green was wounded and captured at Ocean Pond, Florida, on February 20, 1864. *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of New York*, 719. This battle was the result of a Union attempt to sever communication lines between East and West Florida. Ocean Pond, Columbia County, Florida, was about 50 miles west of Jacksonville, Florida. *O. R.* Ser. 1, part 1, XXXV, 287–89.

[71] There were no major campaigns in West Virginia at this time in April of 1864.

Apr[il] 27. M. Reported heavy fighting near Nashville, Tenn.[72] P.M. xchange rumors plenty.

Apr[il] 28. Clear and mild. Got very good ration today, pint meal, iece of beef—mouthful, 4 spoons beans, teaspoonful salt. P.M. 150 more risoners this morning.

April 29. Clear and pleasant. Plenty of exchange rumors today. Another rumor that Union Cavalry are raiding in this direction to liberate us.

April 30. Signs of rain. More rumors of a raid in this direction by Gen. toneman. P.M. A mild rain is falling.

May 1st [1864]. Clear and mild. Walked the circuit of the prison this norning. Much misery and sickness exists on every hand. Many of the ld Belle Isle prisoners are, literally speaking, "Walking Skeletons." The ne terrible "plague" here, (as on Belle Isle) is the vermin which multiply t such a terrible rate as to defeat any attempt to keep clear of them. Many of the sick being unable to take care of themselves are litterally overed with the terrible pest.

May 2. Clear and pleasant. Went after wood this A.M. Was out in the vood about 1 ½ hours. Swamps look beautiful in their bloom.

May 3d. A.M. Clear. Small pox is raging in camp. Hundreds fall victims. Also scurvy which is a dreadful disease, the patient very often losing very tooth. The limbs swell to a fearful size and burst. 40 pr cent of hose affected are crippled for life. P.M. A lovely sunset.

May 4. A.M. My cheek is becoming dangerously sore, the gangrene aving appeared in the wound. This is the great danger to those having vounds unhealed. Many have died in consequence.

May 5. M. Wind S.W. A little cloudy. Exchange rumors plenty. Also umors of heavey fighting in the Southwest.[73]

May 6. Exchange rumors at par. 300 more prisoners arrived this A.M. rom Danville, Va.

May 7. A.M. Showery. Can hear the blood hounds this morning being oupled preparatory to a hunt after some prisoners who escaped last ight. 2 hounds were killed last night and the Rebs threw their bodies nto the creek outside the prison to let them rot there that we may drink he water thus poluted and impurified.

May 8. Clear and pleasant. More rumors of exchange today. Other ews dull.

[72] In March and April of 1864 there were active cavalry campaigns in West Tennessee. This may be the basis for this comment. Clarence C. Buel and Robert Underwood Johnson, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York: The Century Co., 1887), IV, 415, 418.

[73] Possibly this rumor refers to the Red River Campaign which began on March 2, 1864, and continued until May 21, 1864. This was a great Union land-and-water xpedition under General N. P. Banks and Admiral Porter advancing up the Red River in Louisiana with the hope of controlling Eastern Louisiana and East Texas. The campaign did not succeed. *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 349 ff.

May 9. A.M. Clear and warm. Pretty good rations today. News dull. It is reported that a prisoner was torn to pieces by the hounds yesterday, 15 miles from here.

May 10. M. More exchange rumors.

May 11th. Clear and pleasant. 200 more prisoners arrived at this 10 A.M. They report Sherman . . . Atlanta, Geo. closely.[74]

May 12. M. Clear. The dutch Captain or (Captain Wirtz) the commandant—knocked a poor lame prisoner down sensless with the butt of his pistol. The prisoners standing near him threatened to tear Wirtz to pieces and he was compelled to call in the Guard for protection.

May 13th A.M. Clear and mild. There is talk all over camp of making a break in overpowering the guard. The Rebel authorities have learned this through traitors and have got two 12 pounder field pieces bearing on the camp. The dutch Captain swears he will blow us all into Eternity if we make the attempt.

May 14. More guards have been added. P.M. Many of the prisoners tunnel under the stockade and escape. Clear sunset.

May 15. Clear and pleasant. More exchange rumors today. This P.M. a small ration today.

May 16. M. Have been on Broadway to note prices and see how trade improves. Prices range as follows, viz. beer made of meal and water left to ferment in the sun, 5 cts pr glass; flour pr pint 25 cts; meal pr pt 15 cts; salt pr spoonful 5 cts; Irish potatoes pr qt 50 cts; sweet potatoes pr qt. 50 cts; black pepper pr spoonful 25cts; red peppers pr piece 5 cts; onions 15 cts piece; tomatoes 5 cts piece and a skein thread 30 cts; . . . silk 50cts. Sales of flour and meal lively, vegetables steady. Pork dull at 1.50 pr lb. May 17th. Clear and pleasant. 150 more prisoners this A.M. from N. Carolina. News dull.

May 18. Clear and mild. More exchange rumors. Atlanta falsly reported captured. Another day closes on all this misery.

May 19. Cloudy, signs of rain. Feel gloomy, have to turn my thoughts occasionally homeward, but dare not pine nor fret. It would kill the strongest man in this place. Our mottoe here is Hope.

May 20. Raining. News scarce.

May 21st. Still raining in beautiful showers. P.M. Signs of clearing.

May 22d. Clear and very warm. Rumors of heavey fighting before Atlanta, and in the Southwest reported Union victories.[75]

May 23d. Clear and pleasant. Two men shot on dead line this A.M. and

[74] By this date Sherman was launched on his campaign to capture Atlanta. The city was not, however, occupied by his troops until September 2, 1864.

[75] The Union forces moving up the Red River had captured Fort De Russey, below Alexandria, Louisiana, and Alexandria itself on March 16th, 1864. The Union army was defeated before it could capture Shreveport, Louisiana, farther up the Red River. *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 354.

4 reported escaped last night. May a merciful Providence protect them and direct their footsteps beyond the reach of all Rebels.

May 24. Clear and mild. More exchange rumors this A.M. Recieved no ration yesterday, but got pretty good ration today. P.M. Clear.

May 25. Clear and pleasant, went out with wood squad. Consider it a great favor to be permitted to go out into the pure air and hear the birds sing.

May 26. Wind W. Reported fighting before Atlanta.[76] Other news scarce.

May 27. Clear and pleasant. Got very good ration today and also ration of a mouthful of beef. Rumors scarce.

[May] 28. Cloudy. 100 more prisoners arrived this A.M. They report heavey fighting in Virginia.[77]

[May] 29. Clear and mild, had beautiful shower yesterday afternoon. Scattering rumors of exchange.

May 30. Clear. The prisoners who arrived yesterday report a Union victory in Virginia on the 20th, and also they say Atlanta must soon capitulate.

May 31st. Cloudy, looks showery. More prisoners escaped last night. News scarce.

June 1st [1864]. Clear and very warm, had beautiful showers last night. Exchange rumors flying all over camp. P.M. Reported heavey fighting before Atlanta.[78]

June 2d. A.M. Clear and pleasant. Small Pox shows signs of abating. It has claimed hundreds of victims already. Small ration today.

June 3d. M. Showery. News at a stand still.

June 4. A.M. A man shot on Dead Line this morning. Could hear the hounds last night in full cry going down the swamp. P.M. Had some visitors—young ladies? They actually laughed at our misery, threw pieces of bread and cake over the stockade and laughed to see the hungry Yankees grabb it.

June 5th. A.M. Clear, wind W. More prisoners arrived last night. It is reported this morn the hounds caught 2 runaway prisoners yesterday.

[June] 6th. M. Signs of rain. A very good ration today. Exchange rumors afloat—other news scarce.

7 June. Sun very warm. Richmond, Petersburgh and Atlanta falsely reported captured. News is a scarce item. This P.M. about 1000 prisoners

[76] Sherman's army still had heavy fighting ahead before reaching the outer defenses of Atlanta. This rumor may relate to the battle of Resaca, Georgia (May 13–16, 1864), or to the battle at New Hope Church, Georgia (May 25–28), between Sherman's army and the Confederate forces under General Joseph E. Johnston. *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 252.

[77] The series of bloody encounters between the armies of Grant and Lee known as the battles of the Wilderness and of Spotsylvania (May 5–21, 1864).

[78] See note 74.

arrived here taken on the 24th inst. after crossing North Anna River.[79] Some from every branch of the Army. One from 5th Pa. Reserves, reports many prisoners taken there and Lees army hastily retreating and . . . this in his entrenchments at Richmond. Another reports 8000 of the enemy and 25 pieces of artillery captured.[80]

June 8th (Wednesday). very warm. Last night Shermans cav. cut the Richmond and Danville Rail Road. A few prisoners come in this P.M.

Thurs. June 9th. Morning clear. P.M. Heavey showers brewing. The wood squads are required to pledge themselves not to run off; an escort guarding them at the same time. Yesterday the only day without some rain since the 2d June.

Friday [June] 10th. very warm. The Rebel chaplain is said to have told the boys that a general exchange would commence on the 15th inst. A letter and paper from the North gives the information that an exchange will take place soon.

Saturday [June] 11th. Clear, and hot burning sun. Evening a long and hard shower. Feeling unwell. My rations are confiscated.

Sunday [June] 12. A.M. Very warm. P.M. A settled rain sets in. Our rations today 3 spoons rice, ½ pint meal and spoonful salt. 100 prisoners arrived from Marietta 18 miles from Atlanta. Favorable news from Richmond. The two armies said to number each from 200,000 to 290,000.[81]

Monday [June] 13. Continues raining. Many of the prisoners are without comfortable clothing nor a vestage of shelter and sicken and die in the paths amid the miserable habitations of their comrades. Rations today rice, salt and molasses. Night, cold and raining, cannot sleep so I sit by a few coles smoking and thinking over the situation till midnight. Get no sleep till 4 A.M.

Tuesday [June] 14. Continues to rain. A number of prisoners escape each day accompanied by the guard. Seen no sun for two days. The latest news is that Lincoln has bene nominated for President[82] and wants the prisoners taken back, but Grant says not till August. Also that our parole papers are being made out.

Wednesday [June] 15. About 500 prisoners arrived. They report Grant 8 miles from Richmond.[83]

[79] In the face of Confederate opposition some of Grant's troops forced their way, at selected points, across the North Anna River, about twenty-three miles north of Richmond. *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXXVI, part 1, 310. On May 31, 1864, began the operations known as the battle of Cold Harbor. *Ibid.*, 21.

[80] The fierce fighting between Grant's forces and those of Lee, during May 1864, would naturally reflect itself in exaggerated rumors. Despite the fierce fighting, Lee's army still held fast.

[81] At the outset of the campaign against Richmond, Grant's main force numbered about 118,000 men. Lee had approximately 62,000 men. *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 152–53.

[82] The Republican Convention of 1864 met in Baltimore on June 7, 1864. Lincoln

Thursday [June] 16. Small lumps or pimples on my face. My friends ıy it is the small pox. Clearing off. God grant our release may come soon.

Friday [June] 17. Clear and very warm. Yesterday when Reb Surgeon ame in showed my face to him, said I had small pox and sent me out to ıall pox camp here in swamp. I am glad to get out in pure air. Am not ıuch afraid of the disease. Rains this P.M.

Sat[urday June] 18th. The rain continues falling. Surely all the hor-ible sights in the prison never was beheld in a civilized land. The dead nd dying robbed of every comfort and given none by the chivalrous Confederacy. Such an accursed land as this is a shame and disgrace to ımerica, to Republican Institutions, to our government and to all Chris-ndom. No indications of humanity are perceptible in the whole de-raded rule of these tyrants and all goes to prove that the curse of God ests upon this nation for not blotting out such principles advocated by ıem since the days of our forefathers. Sun shines and rains by turns. God rant relief to us miserable creatures and speedy retaliation to these raitors.

Tuesday [June] 28. Some 500 prisoners said to have arrived at this rison this P.M. Have been very ill since 18th inst. not convalescent yet.

Wednesday [June] 29. Dark and gloomy. Nurse has been over to rison and reports that dutch Captain sent in guard and arrested a lot of ıen who have been raiding and robbing and even murdering through-ut the camp any person who was observed to have money in his posses-on, watches or clothing. This is one point in which the Rebel author-ies have acted manly. Their . . . have convicted them of Highway obery. Lynchburgh, Va. said to be in Union possession and Peters-urgh again reported captured.[84]

Thurs[day June] 30th. Cloudy. The new stockade at the prison nearly ompleted.

Wednesday, 27th July [1864]. The writer is once more (through the ıterposition of a kind and merciful Providence) permitted (after a ngering illness of nearly six weeks) to continue this diary and lasting ecord of the inhuman treatment and brutality of the Southern Chivalry. am told that while I was sick "nigh unto death" the rebel surgeon whose indness I can *never* forget actually sat by my lowly bed nearly all night nd would not leave till satisfied I was through and passed danger. May od bless him and his. He is one among a thousand. His name I have arned is Robinson and is from Baltimore Md. The news from the

as renominated on June 8, 1864. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* New York: The Century Co., 1900), IX, 72.

[83] At this time Grant was marching on Petersburg—a manoeuvre which took Lee y surprise. Freeman, *Lee*, III, 402, 441. On June 17, 1864, Grant attacked the defenses Petersburg. *O. R.* Ser. 1, XL, part 2, 666.

[84] Petersburg was not occupied by Union troops until April 3, 1865.

prison is terrible in the extreme. This hot weather has been slaying men faster and surer than any sword. The prison has actually been a pest house. Men died in hundreds; they lay dead in every part of the camp. The nurses say that no[?] pencil could ever paint the horrors being enacted in the camp daily. They say the men swell up to dreadful proportions and die an awful death. Also that the six raiders or highwaymen were tried by a jury of their comrades, convicted of highway robery and murder and hung on the 11th inst. at 5 o'clock P.M.[85] This will be an example for the rest. One of them broke the rope and ran or tried to escape but was brought back and hung. Many prisoners have arrived since my sickness. Also that the Rebs have entrenchments and earthworks with guns mounted all around the camp to prevent an outbreak or attempt to escape. Have heard Artillery fired in that direction several times during the writers illness and one of the nurses who has lately been through Broadway of the prison gives the market quotations. viz: a watermelon 3.00; a small biscuit 15 ct; salt 1.00 pr pint; flour 50 cts pint; onions 25 cts to 1.00 pr piece, and everything else in the market in like ration requiring a U. S. Mint to purchase. Besides very few have any money. Roll on Yee wheels of time ye cannot fly to quickly. Half the time the sick and dying can gain no admittance to the hospital, consequently the mortality is much greater than it should be. Also that the prisoners have sent a petition to Washington praying to be exchanged or paroled. The Rebel forces at this post have been augmented. Two of my friends and tent mates have since died. The prisoners have dug wells all through the prison, some of them being 70, 80 and 90 feet deep. Men, or frames of men, lie or sit in the sun burning in the heat, filthy in a few dirty rags and covered with vermin, some dying like leppers caused by the filthy and poisonous mud near the sink. When this mud gets into a sore it eats to the bone like a cancre. Chronic Diarhea and Scurvy claim their victims by hundreds.

Thursday [July] 28th. A report this day of a parole to commence soon. Weather threatening, cloudy.

Friday, 29th July, A.M. Clear and very warm. More prisoners arrived yesterday. P.M. Today as yesterday, rain toward evening. Another man shot on dead line. White flags are put up at each gate and the Captain (Wirtz) says the prisoners must keep back from the gates or he will slaughter them.

Saturday [July] 30th. No special news. Reported advance of 30,000 Union Cavalry on Macon 60 miles from here.[86]

[85] The prisoners in Andersonville finally appealed to the Confederate authorities for permission to try the men who killed and murdered their fellow-prisoners. Permission was granted by General Winder in command of the prison. *O. R.* Ser. 2, VII, 426.

[86] General Phillip Stoneman (1822–1894), Union cavalry officer, hoped to free

Sunday [July] 31st. This day will end another weary month, and on the next rest all our hopes for delivery from our deplorable condition.

Monday, August 1st [1864]. Today there are many rumors regarding a parole or exchange. The air is sweet and pure here in these delightful woods now all in bloom. A small shower cooled the air this P.M.

Wednesday [August] 3d. Doctor Robinson accepts my services as his clerk; hope to have little better chance to live and less hardships. Many sick are admitted outside the prison. There is a rumor now that Stoneman effected a raid to Macon and was captured together with most of his men. P.M. This rumor has been confirmed by some of his men who were brought to the prison this afternon, about 500 or 600 men in all.[87]

Thursday [August] 4th. From 600 to 1000 sick are taken out of the Prison, and it is now firmly believed they are being paroled. This P.M. bids fair to be showery.

Friday [August] 5th. Nothing of importance taking place today; but the sun is very warm.

Sat[urday August] 6th. Very warm but gets cool toward night— Rumors plenty regarding a parole and exchange. This eve my thoughts are again reverting to home and all I love so dear and who so dearly love me. It is a sad time with me to think of the peace and plenty and enjoyment of the home circle and compare them with my present miserable condition. The thought is maddening, yet how sweet their memory. Again I often compare my present condition with the past and think I could say with the Prodigal, that I will return to my Father and say unto Him, "Father, I have sinned, Etc." God grant that deliverance is not far off. I may say too:

"Judge not the Lord by feeble sense;
But trust him for his grace.
Behind a smiling Providence
He hides a smiling face."

Sunday [August] 7th. Morning very warm. Nothing new except some cold blooded murders committed by the rebel sentries every day. This infamous law respecting the dead line is merely a trap to slay unoffending Union prisoners. One boyish looking fellow shot two men yesterday, the brains of one spatering all over the men standing near. Where is revenge? Shall we not remember this treatment when we meet these cowards on the field or in our own power. It would be but paying them in their own coin.

Union prisoners held in Macon and Andersonville. The raid by Stoneman's cavalry began on July 27, 1864. Sherman doubted the wisdom of this plan and, as events developed, Stoneman himself was captured on July 31, 1864. *O. R.* Ser. 1, XXXVIII, part 5, 265, 940.

[87] See note 86.

Monday [August] 8th. A.M. Very warm. P.M. Hard showers.

Tuesday [August] 9th. Warm, A.M. and all the afternoon rains in torrents, breaks a portion of the stockade down at the creek and the signal gun is fired twice. Near night the rain slackens.

Wednesday [August] 10th. Very warm, towards night rains in torrents and ceases only at 10 or 11 P.M. Go to bed at 1 o'clk and sleep soundly.

Thursday [August] 11th. Today partially clear. P.M. Rain again falling heavey.

Friday [August] 12. No rain today thank fortune. Another rumor of an early exchange soon. This is said to come from Northern newspapers. Very very warm. Prisoners seem to die off faster than at any other previous time from 30 to 60 pr day.

Sat[urday August] 13th. Very warm this A.M. News from Mobile[88] and Atlanta favorable. ½ rations.

[*A leaf of the diary—two full pages, presumably covering the period from August 14 to September 12, 1864—has been torn out.*]

[September 12(?), 1864]. The poor prisoners are now burried like the carcasses of animals. Arrived at the grave; the wagon is tilted and all the bodies (the bodies of men) slide down in a confused mass into a long trench. The bodies are arranged in the trench by means of a long rake with sharp prongs and then about 2 feet of earth thrown over them. How horrible to thus bury a soldier, and in the civilized and chivalrous South.

Tuesday, [September] 13. Fine weather, with signs of rain. 5 more detachments left today. Expect to go soon with rest. Was taking a stroll today in new stockade and sick man who, I suppose, was nearly insane from starvation stepped over the dead line. Two guards pointed their guns at him. I just had time to pull him back. I then told the guard he was a crazy man, said they would have been sorry had they shot him.

Wednesday [September] 14. Foggy day. 8 more detachments left this A.M. News is becoming a scarce item.

Thursday [September] 15th. Clear and very warm. It is rumored that Sherman is coming this way to liberate us, consequently the Rebs are moving us to a place of safety.[89] More left today.

Friday [September] 16. Clear with signs of rain. 4 more Squads left this A.M. and 5 this P.M. —the prison at this rate will soon be cleared.

[88] The defenses of Mobile Bay were stormed by the Union navy under Admiral Farragut on August 5, 1864. *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 379 ff.

[89] As early as August 2, 1864, the activities of Sherman's army had caused concern to the Confederate authorities in charge of prisons. *O. R.* Ser. 2, VII, 524.

Saturday [September] 17th. Showery, more men left this morning and more are to leave this afternoon. Took a stroll among the sick this morning. Saw some horrible and heartrending sights. Men in a state of extreme nudity—crazy and reduced to skeletons, sitting on their bunks gnawing old bones covered with vermin. Some who are affected with chronic Diarrhoea so weak they could not stand and drinking gallons of water which is their sure and certain death in the last stages of this disease. Some with their limbs swollen to a fearful size and bursted, some with great sores on them and gangrene having set in the bones near the affected parts are visible, and some having lost every tooth from Scurvy. One man belonging to my Regt. died today.[99] He had been sick 2 weeks in his little mud house before he was found dying alone. There were two great sores on him, one his right and one on his left side, and both of which the maggots were as numerous as sands and the poor fellow was being eaten alive by the worms. He was properly taken care of by the camp (Union) Sargeant.

Sunday [September] 18th. Clear and warm. More men left this A.M. P.M. 4 squads left at 3 P.M. More are to follow.

Monday [September] 19th. Clear with indications of more rain. Two squads left today.

Tuesday [September] 20th. A brisk shower this A.M. Looks threatening this P.M. A few left today.

Wednesday [September] 21st. Clear and very warm. Feel quite unwell.

Saturday [September] 24. Had an attack of yellow fever since 21st but a kind Providence brought me through safe. *God be praised.* Several have left since and more are going every day. The Pen looks quite empty.

Sunday [September] 25th. My detachment are getting ready to start. Thank God we will soon leave this terrible Pest House never to return.

Tuesday [September] 27. Took the cars at 7 P.M. with 2 days rations. The country looks old but the produce most miserable. The Rebs say there is an armistice of 30 days. It is the opinion of many that we are being taken to another prison. God forbid. At daylight this day arrived at Augusta and remain at this place now. The Ladies of this city were quite kind to us but orders from the officers stringent. The accomodations for riding and sleeping are murderous.

Thursday [September] 29. Here at Charleston at last, are quartered on N.E. side of town. A man came and ploughed a furrough all around the camp and then called it the dead line. The ladies here are kind and generous— The Irish women in particular. They come up to the dead line and throw loaves of bread, tobacco, rice etc. notwithstanding the threats of the guard to bayonet them.

[99] There is no record for a death in Andersonville on this date for a member of the 52d N. Y. in the *Annual Report of the Adjutant-General of New York* (1901).

Friday [September] 30th. A pleasant day. Can hear the Union heavy guns on Morris Island throwing shell into the city here. A great many people came here today to see us merely to gratify an idle curiosity.

Saturday, October 1st [1864]. Clear, the nights a little cool. Beauregard is said to be in the city.[91] Got pretty good ration today of crackers (not soft) ½ pt rice, hominy. P.M. Signs of rain.

Sunday, [October] 2d. Another holy Sabbath but it is no more than any other day here. Again my thoughts revert to home and my native town; when on this quiet Sabbath morn, the chimes of the old Bell would break the stillness each Sabbath morn, and the worshipers quietly wending their way to the places of worship. Oh ritcheous Heaven! what have I done that I am compelled to undergo the terrible privations of the past year! It seems to me like a life time! Surely we are fighting under the right flag. But He doeth all things well and we must bide our time:

Monday [October] 3d. Clear and a little cooler. It is rumored we are to leave here today, not to be exchanged but taken to another prison. 4 P.M. The cars are ready and the prisoners are preparing to embark within once more.

Wednesday [October] 5. Arrived here at Savannah at 1 P.M. this date. Passed through very fine country, fields of cotton in bloom with few niggers to pick it. There is a prison stockade here called Millen.[92] There are several thousands of prisoners here [Savannah]. Weather warm and pleasant. Feel very ill today.

Saturday [October] 8. Warm and pleasant. Had some fairies from the city today come to look at the starved Yankees. Get passable rations of meal, rice and beans.

Sunday [October] 9th. A beautiful day. The church bells in the city all ringing for worship. Some country people are passing the camp and going to church and almost twist their necks out of joint looking at. Some continue to look back after being ¼ mile past the camp. P.M. A Rebel minister from the city preaches to us today. He tells us we will all soon be exchanged.

Monday [October] 10th. Clear and pleasant. Today received the sad news of the death of my old schoolmate and friend (W. Green).[93] He was reduced to a skeleton, died before I came here. This will be a sad blow to his mother. I have to return thanks to Almighty God for sparing such a wicked sinner as I.

[91] General Pierre G. T. Beauregard (1818–1893) was placed second in command to General J. E. Johnston in September, 1864. He served through the campaign of the Carolinas to the end of the war. *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 699.

[92] Millen, Jenkins County, Georgia. The prison at Millen, about 80 miles from Savannah, was the usual stockade, characteristic of Southern prisoner-of-war camps. It enclosed about 44 acres. Willard Glazier, *The Capture, the Prison Pen, and the Escape* (New York: U. S. Publishing Co., 1868), 342–43.

[93] See note 70.

Tuesday [October] 11th. Cloudy with signs of rain. Recieved orders o be ready to embark once more on the cars. Our destination said to be lorida.

Wednesday [October] 12. Raining. Prisoners are getting ready. Cars re awaiting us. Some more prisoners joined us last night. 2 P.M. Are mbarking for the cars. "Good bye."

Friday [October] 14. This day is the anniversary of my capture. God nows I have passed through sufferings and privations that would break own stronger constitutions than mine. May they soon end. We are now topping at a town of about 1000 inhabitants called Waresboro.[94] Left avannah at 2 P.M. on the 12th, crossed the Ogechee River about 5 P.M. assed a small place Hinesville[95] about 3 A.M. on 13th., crossed Alatamaha iver about 9 A.M. Reached a considerable town called Waynesville[96] bout 3 P.M., lay there 4 hours. Country looks old, plenty of plantation round there. Cotton fields plenty but not well worked. They told us the iggers would not work well any more. Left Waynesville at 7 P.M. Cars on't make much headway, ride all night, no sleep and arrived here about A.M., will leave in about an hour. People here very bitter toward us poor elpless prisoners.

[October] 15 Saturday. Left Waresboro at 9 A.M. crossed Suwanee iver at noon. This is the river named in that popular old song ("Way Down Upon the Suwanee River, far far away") stopped at a small place alled Troupsville[97] and arrived at a point near Monticello,[98] Florida, P.M. this date. There is a beautiful little lake here called Chrystal Pond f considerable depth. The water being as clear as the purest chrystal. his camp is in the woods.

Sunday [October] 16. Clear and very warm. Every tree and flower looming here. The orange trees being especially attractive. He [*sic*] can e seen the ripe orange, the green orange, the orange just forming, the range blossom and the orange bud all on the same tree. The Great Bear, beautiful flower tree, also to be found in Georgia, blooms here in the vamps.[99]

Monday [October] 17th. Clear and warm. The officers say we won't ay here long. They expect to be ordered to bring us back to Charleston on. Rations today very coarse meal 1 pint, 5 spoons beans, spoon salt, ce and molasses.

Tuesday [October] 18. Clear and truly beautiful day. The air here is almy and soft. Understand we are to leave here tomorrow P.M. A beauti- il shower this P.M.

[94] Waresboro, Ware County, Georgia.
[95] Hinesville, Liberty County, Georgia.
[96] Waynesville, Wayne County, Georgia.
[97] Troupville, Lowndes County, Georgia.
[98] Monticello, Jefferson County, Florida.
[99] See note 69.

Wednesday [October] 19th A.M. Officers say we leave today for Charleston at noon. 1 hour later we are to be paroled before we leave. P.M. The Oath of Parole has been administered to all of us and we expect to be taken to Charleston and immediately exchanged. All are getting ready to leave soon.

Friday [October] 21st, P.M. Left camp at Blackshare[100] at 6 P.M. Made splendid headway at times going at very high speed. Passed Irwinsville,[101] Geo., Jacksonville,[102] Geo. on Ocmulgee River, Reidsville[103] and Camopach and arrived here at Savannah at 5 P.M., and are to leave in short time for Charleston. Guard just shot a man for coming beyond the prescribed limits.

Saturday [October] 22d. Arrived here at Charleston at 7 A.M. this date, go into camp here on the Race course. Signs of rain. Women, especially Irish, very kind to us. Our case looks hopeless indeed. We supposed we were to be exchanged but have heard since that we were paroled to keep us from running away.

Sunday [October] 23d. Raining. A dismal, gloomy day. Our confinement makes it appear doubly so. It is rumored that we are all to be taken to another Bull Pen or Stockade soon. God help us if we are again confined in a prison similar to Andersonville. No regard shown here for the Lord's Day. P.M. No signs of the rain abating.

Monday [October] 24th. Signs of clearing off. No rations yet at 11 A.M. It is still said we are to go to another prison. P.M. Cleared off fine. Got rations at 12 M. consisting 2 crackers, small piece rusty bacon, and swill called soup. We are to leave A.M. tomorrow.

Tuesday [October] 25th. Clear and a little cooler. All the prisoners once more embarked on the cars for some point in western part of the state. The writer and another (Dearman) in the darkness and confusion slipped under the cars and lay still until all had got on board and then quietly crawled to a fence and under a stoop near the track. We saw and heard the cars move off as we lay there trembling lest we be found out, and when all had passed out of hearing an Irish woman came out of the house; then made our presence known to her. She took us into the house, gave us a comfortable bed, a luxury we had not enjoyed since our captivity of over 12 months and we had what is termed a good nights rest. This woman's kindness we can never forget. Her name as she gave it to us is Ann Magill, a name I will not soon forget.

Monday [October] 31. Once more penned up in a stockade in every way similar to Andersonville. The Lord only can tell when we will get out of this Pest House; perhaps never alive. We stayed in Charleston until

[100] Blackshear, Pierce County, Georgia, about 86 miles from Savannah.
[101] Irwinville, Irwin County, Georgia.
[102] Jacksonville, Telfair County, Georgia.
[103] Reidsville, Tattnall County, Georgia.

yesterday before we were found out. Mrs. Magill furnished us each with a suit of (butternut grey) clothes and in this disguise we traveled freely and without molestation all over the city from the wharfs on the Bay to the outside Breastworks where we were at last taken trying to get out into the open country. The Yankee shells from Morris Island[104] are making Charleston a heap of ruins. Palmetto Street, Main and Market are heap of ruins almost their entire length. Business on a small scale is still carried on. The shells from Swamp Angel[105] and another Battery (Simpkins,[106] I think) reach the upper part of the city. This prison is in Darlington District,[107] S. C. There is an hospital within the prison which is crammed to overflowing with the sick. The grim monster Death is ever present here as in Andersonville and Belle Isle. There is said to have been several cases of yellow fever here but has abated. Nights and mornings cold and days warm.

Tuesday November 1st [1864]. Very lazy weather through the day yet the morning generally severely cold. Rumors afloat of an exchange soon. May God speed the time.

Wednesday [November] 2d. Commenced to rain early this morning and seemingly will continue some time. Built a fire in the tent and kept it up all night and almost perished with smoke and cold.

Thursday [November] 3d. Rainy. Eyes nearly smoked out. Kept fire all night.

Friday [November] 4. Clear and desparate cold and windy. Many prisoners avail themselves of the opportunity to get out of here by taking the Rebel oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. None but the Irish take this opportunity.

Saturday [November] 5th. Milder. Deaths in this prison plenteous. Smallpox has appeared here and its victims numerous.

Sunday [November] 6th. More rumors of an exchange, the news said to be reliable. The day warmer, the first frost is seen this morning.

Monday [November] 7th. Rained some but cleared off warm.

[104] Morris Island, a defense post in outer Charleston Harbor was evacuated by the Confederates on September 6, 1863. The Union troops then turned the captured batteries on Charleston. John Johnson, *The Defense of Charleston Harbor* (Charleston: Walker, Evans and Cogswell Co., 1890), 153–55. The city was held by the Confederates, however, until February 18, 1865. *O. R.* Ser. 1, XLVII, part 2, 526.

[105] "Swamp Angel" was the name given by Union artillery troops to the 8-inch Parrott gun used in the bombardment of Charleston in the summer of 1863. The gun was mounted on a battery which was constructed of piles driven into the swamp outside the city. After firing 36 rounds the gun burst on August 23, 1863. *Battles and Leaders*, IV, 72–74.

[106] Simkins Battery on James Island in Charleston Harbor. Johnson, *The Defense of Charleston Harbor*, 214.

[107] Many of the Andersonville prisoners were removed to Florence, Darlington County, South Carolina. The prison stockade in the camp covered about 23½ acres. *O. R.* Ser. 2, VII, 972–73.

Tuesday [November] 8th. The day of Presidential Election creates almost as much excitement as at home and an election is undertaken here with white beans for Mac[108] and red beans for "old Abe." Morning, look for rain but gets clear and warm. Get a ration of wood today (a rarity). The election here resulted in the election of "old Abe" by a large majority. The Rebs are very indignent in consequence and threaten to starve the d---n Yankees they are. . . .

Monday [November] 14th. On afternoon of 8th got permission to go out after (wood) with a squad of others under guard, got about a mile from prison when the writer and 2 others successfully eluded the guard and made our escape. Walked all night in pine woods. Morning of 9th came to sweet potato field, dug lot of them, went into the wood and cooked them about 10 o'clock by the sun, came to slave quarters on the plantation, told the slaves we were Yankees. Kept us hid up in loft all day and plenty to eat of corn bread, bacon and green vegetables. About 9 P.M. started after learning some directions as to the course we were to take. Walked and rested at intervals all night; not being very strong did not make much headway. Early on morning of the 10 made a small stream which we forded at the imminent danger of drowning. About 9 A.M. came to another plantation, thought we had better "keep dogo," went back into thick woods and slept till 5 P.M. Crawled to potato field, dug some with our hands, crawled back into the woods and eat them. Took up our line of march about 8 P.M. walked all night, got confused and lost our way in the woods, lay down till morning, were able to get on the right track again and came to Great Peedee River[109] about 6 A.M. on 11th. Walked up stream till we came to Rail Road Bridge. Saw Guards on each end of bridge, retreated back into the woods and walked down stream about 2 miles. Made a raft of logs and crossed in safety, lay still in thick swamp until night. Caught a small pig, killed and quartered it, resumed our march and walked nearly all night, lay down to rest till morning, started again and walked about 1½ miles, came to slaves hut in the woods not far from a plantation, got some food and more information as to our destination, took to the wood again and travelled till near noon, came to an old slave womans hut in the wood; had just finished a "good square meal" when we heard the baying of the hounds which as soon as we heard we knew we had been followed. They had struck our trail somewhere and our hopes for escape were at an end. We concluded to hide. One of us got into a large box in the corner and two of us got up the chimney. In about five minutes more the hounds were at the door and next we heard a man talking outside. Next he came in, the dogs fol-

[108] General George B. McClellan was the Democratic nominee against Lincoln in 1864.

[109] The Great Pee Dee River borders Darlington County, South Carolina, on the north and east.

owing and snuffing all around the room. They soon brought to light our omrade in the box and the man was about to give up hunting for us /hen one of the dogs put his nose up the chimney and snuffed Yankee ieat and commenced to bay furiously. The man pointed a pistol up the himney and commanded us to come down or he would shoot. We saw ie game was up and immediately came down looking like chimney weeps all covered with soot. The man had to laugh at our appearance. aid he struck our trail 10 miles from where he found us. Had quite a ong talk with him and then started back and reached the prison about P.M. today. Some prisoners from Columbia, S. C. arrived tonight.

Tuesday [November] 15th. Windy P.M. but mild. Clothing is issued o the men who work outside by whole suits. The ration today is some-ning unusual, beef 2 mouthfuls, salt spoonful, rice 4 spoonsfuls and ½ int meal and no wood to cook it with.

Wednesday [November] 16th. Very warm, all the clothing of the anitary Commission is in possession of the Police and workers about amp. 19 deaths reported yesterday.

Thursday [November] 17th. A number of those having taken the ath of allegiance to the Confederacy are sent into camp again and all of iem are much ridiculed by the camp.

Friday [November] 18th and Saturday 19th. Weather begins to call or a change, commences to rain in the night and continues till morning. The 5th Georgia Regiment left this place to impede Shermans rapid rogress in Northern Georgia.[110] The militia take their place.

Sunday [November] 20th. No notice is taken of this holy day by a noughtless multitude, yet a merciful God still presides over us and irough His Divine aid hope speedily to be delivered from the hands of ie enemy.

Monday [November] 21st. Has rained through the night and con-nues today with little signs of abatement.

Tuesday [November] 22d. Cleared off last evening, cold. This morn-g very cold and windy. Yesterday and today we have had no rations. m so hungry I could eat almost anything. The cause of this is a tunnel hereby some prisoners escaped came to light yesterday morning. lunger, cold and disease is causing much suffering and misery in the ison.

Wednesday [November] 23d. Most bitter cold. Drew some rations of spoons rice, 2 spoons molasses and ½ pint meal.

Thursday [November] 24th. Warm. This morning the camp is ounted off by the Rebs.

Friday [November] 25. An exchange or parole said to be going on ith the sick. God hasten the good work. Warm at noon.

[110] Sherman marched from Atlanta to Savannah on the coast. Union forces entered e city of Savannah on December 21, 1864. *O. R.* Ser. 1, XLIV, 785.

Saturday [November] 26th. This eve the sun sets clear again. The day has been warm giving us poor miserable creatures a chance to thaw. We heard from the Colonel commanding this post today that there is to be an exchange to commence immediately, the sick to go first. May this good work through Divine mercy continue till it reaches every man confined in Rebel prisons.

Sunday [November] 27th. Clear and quite cool in the morning but gets warmer at noon. A very poor ration today; viz. ½ pint meal, 2 spoons rice, ½ teaspoon salt, 4 spoons beans. P.M. Sun sets clear, wind raising. Sick being paroled slowly.

Monday [November] 28th. Cold and raw wind N.E. with indications of rain. It is now rumored that all prisoners are to be exchanged. Am afraid the news is too good to be true.

Tuesday [November] 29th. A heavey N. E. storm set in early last night and has continued without abatement. Looks as if it would rain all day. No paroling today on acct. of the weather.

Wednesday [November] 30th. Signs of clearing off, stopped raining at daylight. Paroling the sick has been resumed today. P.M. Got the poorest ration today we ever received in this prison; viz. ½ pt meal, ½ teaspoon salt.

Thursday, December 1st [1864]. A beautiful clear morning but rather cool. Have been fixing new quarters for the winter, made up my mind to stay perhaps till Spring.

Friday Dec. 2d. Clear and cold. The paroling goes on slowly. A pretty decent ration today considering what we have been recieving of late. Also a ration of wood. Some laidees? from town came today to view the miserable Yankees.

Saturday [December] 3d. Clear and cold. Some prisoners came in today, report Sherman on a rapid march through the heart of Georgia. No other news afloat.

Sunday [December] 4th. A new kind of disease called Swamp fever is raging with fatal effect all through the camp and is claiming its victims by scores. Got struck on the head with a club in the hands of a Rebel lieutenant (Basset) for standing too near the gate. Head quite sore and heavey headache. Paroling going on slowly.

Monday [December] 5th. Sky looks threatening. Windy and cold. Wind N. E. We are to have more wood given us than heretofore. A great quantity is being carted near the prison gates. The indications are that we are to stay all winter. P.M. Rains.

Tuesday [December] 6th. Rains hard. Wind in heavey gusts from S.E. No paroling going on today. No ration yet, time 12 M. Hundreds are standing in the rain without shelter. P.M. Got ration at 2 P.M. viz meal, rice, salt and beans in the usual quantity.

Wednesday [December] 7th. Still rains but visable signs of clearing.

amp Seargeant reports 31 deaths yesterday, most of the cases being vamp fever, some from exposure and want, a few from Small Pox. M. Clears off at noon. Afternoon quite warm.

Thursday [December] 8th. Clear and cold, wind N. W. Paroling re-med this morning, all the sick in Hospital having been paroled. The etachments are to be called up to the deadline to be examined and those eing most sickly to be paroled. We got our rations very late in the day, aving to wait till we feel so faint with hunger as to be hardly able to and. Oh! the pangs of hunger, yee who have never experienced this gony can form no *idea* what a man suffers when almost starved daily. ould the authorities at Washington know our sufferings I doubt not but at a general exchange would be agreed upon, but how are they to learn is? Our letters have to be sent unsealed and any information regarding ir situation and consigns the letter to the waste basket.

Friday [December] 9th. P.M. Clear and *very very* cold almost per-ned last night with cold. Two detachments were examined on deadline day and several from each detachment were picked out by the two amining surgeons and sent outside.

Saturday [December] 10th. Cold—but clear. The detachments are be-g examined at the rate of 3 or 4 a day. Charleston reported captured d Union troops marching in this direction, also that Shermans advance unchecked."[111] A young man, an intimate friend and my constant com-anion since my capture was picked out by the examining surgeons. He kes with him directions to write and inform the dear ones at home that e absent one is still alive and hopes to join them soon. What joy for em. They know not what I suffer but must bear the yoke, hard though may be. A large number have been paroled thus far.

Sunday [December] 11th. Clear, signs of snow. 2 men shot on dead-ne last night. It is said nearly 100 men have been cowardly shot on the eadline at night. No notice taken of the Sabbath. Thus unreverenced it sses away.

Mon[day December] 12. Cold, bitter cold weather with signs of rain. ur detachment is to be examined today. May I be one of the lucky ones. call it lucky for it is lucky for a man to be released from such confine-ent as what we are now undergoing. Small rations today.

Tuesday [December] 13. Our detachment was not examined yester-ay but will be today. A drizzly rain sets in and evidently will continue r some time.

Wednesday [December] 14. Thank God I am at last elected to be aroled. Signed my name to the parole list at 5 P.M. yesterday and am ow outside the prison walls quartered in an open field. My detachment as examined at 5 o'clock yesterday and about 30 men were picked out.

[111] See note above.

When the surgeons came to me, told me I could stand it a little longer so my chance looked slim but when another detachment was being examined, waited till I saw two men picked out and then quickly jumped over the deadline and ran up to the crowd of men who were to be passed. I felt very nervous and trembling lest some Johnnie Reb might come and take me back but no one came and in a few minutes were marched outside the gates and signed the parole. As soon as we were fairly out the gates the men (also your humble servant) shouted for joy.

Thursday [December] 15th. A cold, raw Northeast storm, so cold last night that in trying to keep warm burned the knees out of my pants, blistered my face and hands and I almost perished with cold. Cleared off at 8 A.M. Still cold. Several died last night, the weather being too severe for their delicate health. Four young men lay down by the fire last night right on the cold wet ground and one thin blanket to cover them. About 8 o'clock, as none of them stirred, a man tried to awake them and found them all dead. The man cried like a child, as did many others who viewed them. These are the men the Rebs exchanged for their own who come to them in good condition, while the Yankee prisoners are only fit to go into hospitals. Many will go home to die.

Friday [December] 16th. Clear and cool. Left Florence yesterday P.M. 3 o'clock arrived in Charleston, 6 P.M. embarked on Rebel steamer Cuyles and reached the Yankee fleet of transports about 7 ½ P.M. The sight of the dear old flag revived our weak lungs and such a shout went up that was heard for many a mile around on the still bay. The writer fainted the first time in his life as soon as he stepped on board the U.S. vessel. Suppose it was caused by over excitement and joy at being released after so long a confinement. We are laying opposite Fort Sumpter but none of the forts are fireing there being an armistice of 30 days. We leave in a few hours for the North.

Sunday [December] 18. Clear and quite cold. Are now in Chesapeake Bay. We are to go to Annapolis, Maryland. Feel quite unwell today, have been not very well since we left Charleston. 96 men have thus far died on the passage. Many of the men say (and I fear it is but too true) they are going home to die. How sad the thought.

Friday [December] 23d. Clear and cool. Thank God am now among civilized people; am once more under the protection of the old flag and all my sufferings and tortures are at an end.

Saturday [December] 24. Mailed letter home today.

Tuesday [December] 27. Received letter from my home today, will soon get furlough for two months.

Saturday, January 13th [1865]. Arrived at home sweet home this A.M. My heart is too full—

Adieu,

"Finis"

WAR, PROFIT, AND PRIVATEERS ALONG THE NEW JERSEY COAST

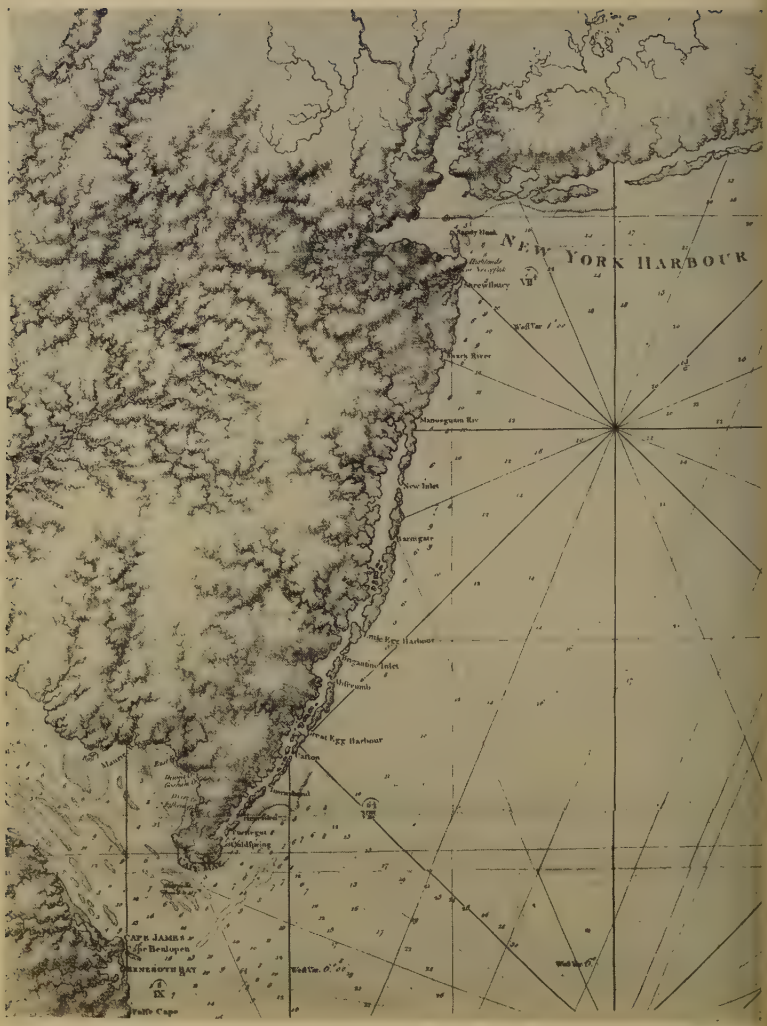
CTTERS OF 1782 RELATING TO AN OBSCURE WARFRONT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Edited by Richard J. Koke, *Curator of the Museum*

INTRODUCTION

THROUGH the generosity of Mr. Carl Otto von Kienbusch and by means of the Abbott-Lenox Fund, the Society s recently come into possession of an interesting collection of evolutionary War letters from the papers of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey, which throw new light on the tivities and anxieties prevalent along the Atlantic coast of New rsey when it was an obscure warfront of the American Revotion. Throughout the conflict the Jersey seashore lay far from e battlefields and distant from the main lines of military comunication, but while the armies moved and fought elsewhere, ve for the battle on the Monmouth plain, the coast nevertheless as rife with activity—an activity based not upon strategy or ajor military movement, but upon salt manufacturing, foreign ade, privateering, and the petty raids incidental to war.

The background of events covered in these documents brings rth an absorbing tale of a section which in the eighteenth cenry was one of the least developed areas of New Jersey, but one hich, half forgotten, was to prosper in the backwash of war. In e third quarter of the century the coastline between Sandy ook and Cape May was a lonely region of salt marshes, sand unes, and stunted pine forests. It bordered on the sea for one undred and twenty-seven miles and was edged with a long line thin island-beaches which separated the Atlantic from the eltered bays into which flowed the coastal creeks of South rsey. Fronting on the sea were the four counties of Monmouth,



NEW JERSEY COAST FROM SANDY HOOK TO CAPE MAY, 1780

Showing Raritan Bay where the New Brunswick whaleboat raiders operated and the island-beaches and inlets which sheltered the Jersey privateers' harbors. From the *Atlantic Neptune* chart prepared and published by the British Admiralty, 1763–84, under direction of J. F. W. DesBarres.

The New-York Historical Society

urlington, Gloucester, and Cape May,[1] with a sparse population
Dutch, English, Swedish, French-Huguenot, and Scotch de-
endants of early settlers. Monmouth County before the Amer-
an Revolution had become prosperous through the cultivation
spacious farms, but to the southward the inhabitants tilled
umbler patches of sandy soil, toiled in a few grimy ironworks,
nd lumbered in the cedar swamps. These remote people, how-
er, centered much of their interest on the sea. They fished and
haled, built small vessels, traded along the coast, and engaged
that grand Colonial sport of smuggling.

Among the earliest of wartime enterprises to develop along
is coastal wasteland were the scattered saltworks which the
mericans established to replace their disrupted imports of for-
gn salt previously brought in British vessels. On the banks of the
lanasquan and Shark Rivers, along the Barnegat Bay inlets at
orked River and Waretown, and at Shrewsbury, Toms River,
ittle Egg Harbor, Great Egg Harbor, and Cape May were sit-
ated the vats into which salt water was pumped and allowed to
vaporate in the broiling summer sun to gain the residue so essen-
al for agriculture and the preservation and seasoning of food.
nemy raids, storms, and the shortage of labor plagued these
perations but, salt being a necessity and the promise of profit
gh, the business continued.

The most important wartime activity of this region, however,
as the privateering which came into being and flourished here
ecause of the proximity of the Jersey coast to the British head-
uarters-base at New York. From the autumn of 1776 until the
lose of 1783 occupied New York was the principal port of
ntry for almost all of the military supplies sent to America from
reat Britain and Ireland; its wartime trade was considerable,
nd consequently the ships which stood in and out were tempt-
ng prey for the American naval hawks and privateersmen who
ruised the waters of the Atlantic.

[1] Atlantic and Ocean Counties which are now among the counties fronting on the
cean were created in 1837 and 1850 respectively by partitioning some of the older
ounties.

When the Revolution broke out Britain enjoyed the prestige of world victory, but the efficiency of her Navy had deteriorated since the days when she smashed French power in the Seven Years' War. For three years after 1775, shackled by the ineffective Admiralty administration of the Earl of Sandwich, she failed to impose a naval blockade of the American coast stringent enough to curtail the flow of equipment which the Americans were forced to import from the friendly countries of Europe; and after 1778, when Sandwich belatedly realized the importance of a rigid blockade, the balance of naval power had passed into the hands of the allies. From that time on, the necessity of coping with French fleets further disorganized any serious attempts at prolonged blockade.

Starting with nothing in 1775, the Colonists improvised rapidly. The small Continental and State navies could never hope to cope with the naval might of the Mother Country, but American shipowners could annoy the British by sending onto the seas a swarm of privateers commissioned by the Continental Congress and the State governments. How many went out to harass the enemy and profit by their operations probably will never be known. The privateers in commission certainly far exceeded two thousand, but many, with a change of owners or captains, were commissioned more than once while others cruised without commissions. The Royal Navy acted vigorously when it could and some of the larger ports were kept under sporadic surveillance. Privateers were captured and prizes were retaken, but Britain never did gain sufficient mastery of the seas to cripple American trade or prevent the passage of rebel vessels and warcraft to and from their ports.[2]

Though privateering had its hazards, it was nevertheless a lucrative business from which handsome profits could be realized

[2] For interesting discussions of this aspect of naval warfare and of privateering in general during the American Revolution see R. G. Albion and J. B. Pope, *Sea Lanes in Wartime: The American Experience, 1775–1942* (New York: 1942), 34–64; and the introduction in G. W. Allen, "Massachusetts Privateers in the Revolution," in Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Vol. 77 (1927).

hrough the sale of captured vessels and their cargoes. The signifi-
ant feature about privateer craft was that they were privately
wned, manned, and operated, shares being held by the owners,
fficers, and crew. They ranged in size anywhere from boats and
mall craft which cruised for a few days or a few weeks offshore
o ocean-going ships which moved in foreign seas. Many of the
arger vessels were fitted out in the deep New England harbors—
especially in Massachusetts, which contributed more than any
ther State, but the Jerseymen of the shore were not slow to dis-
cover that the quiet bays behind their barrier beaches were ideal
ases from which to send small privateers into the ocean through
he shallow inlets which pierced the shores. They could operate
ractically from their homes, and a short cruise in search of
nemy vessels along the sea lanes leading into New York could
eap substantial gains.

It is remarkable that so little is known of the personnel of the Jersey privateers, and that the naval engagements off the coast between Cape May and Sandy Hook have been neglected or casually treated by historians. William S. Stryker, in his voluminous *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, devoted 870 pages to the listing of soldiers who served in the Line and militia regiments, but only four to those who did duty in the "naval service." The records, too, preserved by the State of New Jersey of its native sons who served in the naval arm are also meagre.

In theory, aside from captive ships which, through the exigencies of conflict or weather, had to be looted and burned at sea, a privateer had no legal right to a prize until she was brought into port and was condemned by due process of law in the prize courts. The privateer, herself, had to be bonded to the Continental or State governments—or to both—to satisfy claims which could easily arise from illegal captures, and in New Jersey the Governor was permitted to grant commissions for the command of privateers and guard boats only to reputable men who were able to bind themselves in the sum of $5,000 and furnish the per-

sonal security of a freeholder of the State for their good character.[3] It is an interesting fact that a Court of Admiralty to handle naval affairs, established in October 1776, functioned in New Jersey during the Revolution until its jurisdiction was ultimately vested with the Federal courts. The act passed by the New Jersey General Assembly in December 1781, which at that late date gave official sanction to a practice already long under way, allows insight into the procedure followed for prizes captured by the Jersey privateers.

Immediately upon being brought into port, a captured vessel would be impounded by an Admiralty marshal while her captors instigated action in the maritime court to have her adjuged a lawful prize so that she could be sold and the prize money divided among the shareholders. As soon as the case was docketed, the owners and any others interested in the captive craft were notified through the newspapers to appear in court on a specified date of trial to show cause why the vessel should not be libelled and condemned to the claimants and sold at auction by the Admiralty agents. Public papers reveal that these courts were held in various South Jersey villages such as Trenton, Mt. Holly, Toms River, Allentown, Raritan Landing, Monmouth Court House, and other localities. As these craft were usually of enemy registration or engaged in illicit trade with the enemy, few owners could appear in order to contest the action and the disposition of cases was rapid.[4]

There were several bases from which the Jersey privateers sallied forth. The most important was the station at Little Egg

[3] *Acts of the Fifth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey*, June 27, 1781 (Trenton: 1782), 113–15; H. I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York: 1935), 130–43. The amounts prescribed in the Continental bonds was $5,000, $10,000, and, after August 1780, $20,000, but the amounts of the bonds seemed to have little or no relation to the size or value of the vessels.—G. W. Allen, *op. cit.*, 40.

[4] For the Court of Admiralty see *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey*, 1776–77 (Burlington: 1777), 7–8; *Acts of the Sixth General Assembly of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton: 1782), 13–21; J. Whitehead, *The Judicial and Civil History of New Jersey* (Morristown: 1897), 334. The State governments, for the most part, fell heir to the prerogatives and courts which formerly functioned in the American provinces under Royal authority before the American Revolution.

Harbor, more than half-way down the coast at the outlet of the Little Egg Harbor or Mullica River, where fairly large vessels could pass through an inlet in the barrier beach into what is now called Great Bay. To service the privateers and also protect the waterway against attack by marauding British ships a fortified station with warehouses and crew accommodations was established by the Americans in 1777 on Chestnut Neck on the south bank of the Mullica in Gloucester County,[5] and another post for lighter vessels at the head of navigation about a dozen miles farther upstream at the Forks of the Mullica, where the Batsto River and other tributaries joined the Mullica near Pleasant Mills.

Even before the war the settlement at the Forks and Little Egg Harbor village in Burlington County had been busy shipping centers, from where sailing craft laden with iron castings, shingles, and boards were sent to the West Indies and to other colonies along the coast. Besides the numerous vessels engaged in coastal trade, there were those which used these centers in prewar commerce for the debarkation of imports from abroad. Especially when winter ice clogged the Delaware, many ships made for Egg Harbor where their cargoes were taken ashore and sold to merchants from New York and Philadelphia.[6] When the war broke out Little Egg Harbor was the most important town on the coast between the Shrewsbury settlements in Monmouth County and Cape May, and though the Revolution ruined its peacetime prosperity, as well as that of the Forks, the activities bred of war soon replaced them.

British control of New York for most of the war and of Philadelphia during the occupation of 1777–78 increased the importance of lesser-known ports such as Little Egg Harbor. Foreign goods for the Colonials continued to pass through the inlet to be unloaded at the busy landing stations. The greatest activity,

[5] C. S. Boyer, *Early Forges & Furnaces in New Jersey* (Philadelphia: 1931), 180. The site of the Chestnut Neck post, formerly in Gloucester County, is now situated within the limits of Atlantic County.

[6] *Historical and Biographical Atlas of the New Jersey Coast* (Philadelphia: 1878), 9. Little Egg Harbor village is now known as Tuckerton, situated in the present Ocean County.

however, centered around the privateers. At least thirty armed sloops operated from this base, and even before the British seizure of New York American seamen were conveying captured prizes into Little Egg Harbor. By means of the Mullica waterways, prize cargoes could be conveyed for at least a third of the distance into the State, and at Chestnut Neck and at the Forks and on the beaches near Little Egg Harbor village they could be brought ashore and transported overland to the Delaware and other places of consignment.[7]

Toms River, in what was then Monmouth County, thirty-five miles south of Sandy Hook and situated behind an opening (now silted up) called Cranberry Inlet, became a privateer rendezvous second in importance only to Little Egg Harbor. Its little settlement of about a dozen houses was the scene of great activity and of sufficient importance to warrant the erection of a blockhouse and the posting of troops to protect the inhabitants and saltworks, to assist the privateers and their prizes, and to control the flow of contraband goods into New York. The people at Cape May at the southerly tip of the State fitted out ocean-going privateers, and so, too, did those at May's Landing on the Great Egg Harbor River between Cape May and Little Egg Harbor. Of no less importance, and vying in maritime activity with the coastal bases, was the Middlesex County station at New Brunswick on the Raritan River, from which whaleboats and gunboats slid into the waters of New York harbor to harry the British within the very limits of their fleet anchorages.

Speedy British and loyalist vessels or those heavily armed or under protection of ships-of-war were safe enough from American raiders, but solitary merchantmen and richly laden victuallers, mail ships, fishing craft, and furtive trading boats carrying contraband cargoes were constantly in danger of capture. Even the presence of nearby British fleets did not deter the privateers. Wrecked ships driven upon the beaches by ocean storms, like-

[7] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, June 10, 1776; P. Force, comp., *American Archives*, 5th series, I, 741–42; A. M. Heston, *Absegami: Annals of Eyren Haven and Atlantic City, 1609–1904*, I (Atlantic City: 1904), 142.

rise, were quickly seized by the militia and were sold where they y on the sands.[8]

Ready purchasers within the American lines were easily found or prizes brought into the harbors, and the notices of sale published in the patriot newspapers are replete with listings of captured cargoes which had been cleared through the Admiralty Court. There was lumber, spars, pitch and tar. There were hogsheads of sugar and molasses, and puncheons of Jamaica rum. There was cider and wine, London porter, Bristol ale, and casks of vinegar and oil. There was indigo and flaxseed, oats and wheat, flour, kegs of bread, bags of coffee, cocoa, and boxes of tea. From the holds, too, came barrels of pork, cheeses, oysters, almonds, lemons, figs, ceramics, glassware, linens and dry goods. One capture in 1779 even brought about the seizure of a Hessian colonel and over two hundred privates.[9] With each new prize the sandy roads leading inland from the harbors were filled with teams carting away the plunder which merchants and speculators had purchased.

British and loyalist vessels were captured with gratifying frequency. In May 1779 one observer wrote that the Toms River people were so busy with the spoils of recent captures as to be negligent of everything "but dividing & determining their Share in prizes."[10] In the following August it was reported that the port of New York was almost blockaded by privateers[11]—a situation aided also by the New England privateers which frequently slipped into the Jersey harbors to refit or escape pursuing British craft.

[8] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, July 28, August 4, 1777; *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, August 2, 16, 1777, August 4, 1778; *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, II, 45; IV, 129, 154; E. Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, 1890), 82, 83, 85, 194, 195, 201–02.

[9] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, November 24, 1777; *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, I, 486; II, 137, 189, 265, 320, 389, 390, 395, 405, 426, 458; III, 86, 100, 353, 359, 379, 454, 536, 615, 653, 659; IV, 7, 19, 20, 242, 385, 491; E. Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne: 1900), 194–202; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 6, 1779.

[10] L. Lundin, *Cockpit of the Revolution* (Princeton: 1940), 404–05, citing John Van Emburgh to Colonel John Neilson, May 20, 1779.

[11] I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, V (New York: 1926), 1092.

The loyalist merchants of the New York Chamber of Commerce realized only too well that the finest cruising ground in the world for rebel privateers lay within a short distance of Sandy Hook, and by 1781 they had ample reason to complain that a far greater number of British vessels had been captured within fifty leagues of the Hook than anywhere else in the Atlantic. In such manner, they vouched, the rebels had managed to secure more supplies than from all of their importations, and many of the privateersmen had grown rich in short time from the sale of pilfered cargoes. Loyalist supplicants pointed out that unless the Royal Navy took more effective measures to protect the sea lanes leading to the harbor by having fast frigates on patrol duty between Block Island and the Delaware, which could touch at Sandy Hook once or twice a week, few vessels, unless in great force, would either get in or out of the port.[12]

As could be expected in a region busy with mercantile and privateering activity, profiteering and speculation were also rampant. Goods purchased on the seacoast could be sold inland at tremendous profit.[13] In the faint line which often separated patriot from loyalist, it was easy to temper patriotism with profit, and many Americans had few qualms in trading with the enemy and securing from the British the necessities and fancy goods which they could not procure within their own lines. Many of the illegal importations were made under cover of flags of truce, and ranking American officers, sterling patriots, and leading families of the State were not averse to the procurement of articles from friends within the enemy lines.[14]

The Jerseymen, in return, had much to offer the British in livestock, produce, and other illicit articles. It was paradoxical that the very region which served as a privateer base of such viru-

[12] J. A. Stevens, ed., *Colonial Records of the New York Chamber of Commerce, 1768–1784* (New York: 1867), 254, 255–59, 260. See also the entry in I. N. P. Stokes, *op. cit.*, V, 1130, under date of May 13, 1781, in which the statement is made that British trade suffered much from the action of New England privateers.

[13] L. Lundin, *op. cit.*, 407.

[14] *Ibid.*, 408, citing Stirling to Washington, November 24, 1778, and Samuel H. Parsons to Washington, December 16, 1779.

nce was also the source of so much contraband goods. The roximity of Monmouth County, especially, to the British lines ndered it a convenient route by which provisions could be sent New York. The Shrewsbury countryside, alone, for instance, as reported by one of Washington's spies in 1778 as having pplied the city that year with no less than 1,000 sheep, 500 ogs, and over 800 quarters of beef, in addition to cheeses and oultry.[15]

What went on was common knowledge, and even the seizure f trading boats and curbs imposed by the military authorities ere unable to restrain the traffic. Though Washington and tate officials and legislatures condemned this practice, the clan-estine trade flourished throughout the war. One of the devious ethods used by the contraband merchants came to light in November 1780 when several persons were arrested in Phila-elphia who, in association with others in New York and many n New Jersey, had been engaged in a "dangerous and infamous" ommerce in lumber with the British. Their loaded vessels leared the middle American ports for New England, but their asters also carried British passports in addition to their Ameri-an papers, and they could easily put in at New York where they isposed of their cargoes and on their return brought back hard urrency or goods purchased in the city.[16]

The furtive journeys of the trading craft also afforded an easy eans of transportation for loyalists to and from New York, and ven Little Egg Harbor was a point of embarkation from where scaping British prisoners-of-war from Cornwallis' captive army ould sail for the city.[17] With the activity which centered around ne saltworks, the arrival and departure of privateers, the visits of usinessmen to arrange for the purchase and transportation of aptured cargoes, the coming and going of teams, and the devious affic in illicit goods, the lonely Jersey coast hummed with ac-vity while the battles were fought elsewhere.

[15] *Ibid.*, 408, citing Report from "X," December 7, 1778.
[16] *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, V, 134.
[17] A. M. Heston, *Absegami, Annals of Eyren Haven and Atlantic City*, I, 146–47.

The coast was also plagued in parts—especially in Monmouth where the ocean and Raritan Bay joined—with the depredations of the British and loyalists who came out on raids from the New York lines and from the Refugee Town on the Sandy Hook peninsula. Driven from their homes and abetted in the later years of struggle by the Board of Associated Loyalists, headed by the last Royal governor of the one-time Province of New Jersey, they sought revenge and reprisal and continually came into conflict with their former friends and neighbors. Many of these loyalists were honorable men who fought for their King with the same fervor as the patriots for Congress, but the internecine warfare which raged along the coast bred a set of evil outcasts known as the Pine Robbers, ostensibly loyalists, who took advantage of the miseries of conflict to rob and murder and to burn the homes of both friend and foe. Hiding in the swamps and in cave-like hovels which they scraped in the sandhills of the Pine Barrens, these villains contributed much to the uneasiness prevalent in some of the coastal counties until they were gradually hunted down by the American militia and killed or brought to the gallows.

Though the privateer and whaleboat attacks were a constant irritation to the British and served to disrupt the flow of supplies into New York, the raids were more of an annoyance than a serious threat to British strategy or tactics. It was inevitable, however, that the activity of the privateers would bring about British retaliatory raids, and the existence of the saltworks invite British destruction. The King's soldiers had ample reason to look upon Little Egg Harbor as a "nest of pirates," and upon Toms River as a settlement inhabited by "a piratical set of banditti,"[18] and even the British Commander-in-Chief took occasion to comment laconically about the "mischief" perpetrated by the privateers.[19]

[18] See the comment of Captain Patrick Ferguson, who raided Little Egg Harbor in 1778, in *The Remembrancer*, 1778–79 (London: 1779), 152, and also Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, March 27, 1782, for reference to Toms River.

[19] W. B. Willcox, ed., *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775–1782* (New Haven: 1954), 105.

The British did what they could to curtail the activity of the rseymen. British warships and light cruisers intercepted and ptured rebel vessels wherever they could, and at times brought off the inlets to harass the bases—such as in June of 1777 when ree British craft slipped through Little Egg Harbor inlet and ptured a brig inside the bay.[20]

Aside from cursory loyalist incursions into Monmouth Coun-, the British dispatched a number of expeditions against the rsey stations for the express objectives of laying waste the salt-orks and naval bases. In November 1777 the saltworks at hrewsbury were destroyed by British troops from Sandy look.[21] Just before Christmas that same year Colonel John Mor-s of the New Jersey Volunteers was sent to destroy the Toms iver saltworks, but the foray was not as successful as was antic-pated.[22] In April of 1778 a small force of some 150 soldiers was ispatched from New York in three vessels, which wrecked the ltworks on the banks of the Manasquan and Shark Rivers, rought off a sloop, and destroyed "immense quantities" of salt, eat, flour, corn, and hay.[23] On September 18th four British ves-ls came to off Cranberry Inlet and sent small boats through the let into the bay, where they seized three vessels, two of which ey burned and brought off the third.[24]

The most serious raid, however, as well as the largest ever dis-atched against the Jersey coast, occured only three weeks later hen four-hundred men commanded by Captain Patrick Fer-uson of the 70th Regiment of Foot, the most noted marksman

[20] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, April 28, June 23, July 21, 1777; *nnsylvania Packet*, July 29, 1777; *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, I, 354; II, 370, 404; I, 345; IV, 490; C. S. Boyer, *Early Forges & Furnaces in New Jersey*, 179, citing Cox to C. Pettit, June 13, 1777.

[21] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, November 10, 1777.

[22] W. S. Stryker, *The Capture of the Block House at Toms River, New Jersey, arch 24, 1782* (Trenton: 1883), 10; W. Fischer, "Toms River Block House Fight, arch 24, 1782," in New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIV 929), 420.

[23] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, April 8, 13, 1778; *New Jersey Ar-ives*, 2d series, II, 170–71.

[24] *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, II, 445.

in the British Army, were sent by sea in nine vessels from New York to destroy the privateer post at Little Egg Harbor. They moved into the Mullica with their light craft and captured the weakly defended station on Chestnut Neck, laid waste the warehouses and other buildings, and burned ten vessels which the Americans had hurriedly scuttled before the British arrived. Ferguson and his naval commander had also hoped to push upstream to the Forks near the Batsto and, on their return, to look into Barnegat and Cranberry Inlets to destroy or bring off whatever enemy vessels were lurking there. But their expedition lacked the element of surprise they had anticipated, and the Britons had to content themselves with the destruction of the neighboring saltworks, the burning of rebel homes on the tributaries of the Mullica, and the butchery of a detachment of Pulaski's Legion near the village of Little Egg Harbor.[25]

Later, in March 1782, a raiding expedition of Refugees from New York attacked and captured the blockhouse at Toms River and burned the entire settlement with the exception of two houses—an attack which resulted in the hanging of Captain Joshua Huddy and precipitated the Asgill affair into an international incident reaching to the very courts of England and France. However, neither Ferguson's sack of Little Egg Harbor nor the destruction of Toms River brought an end to the privateering activities of the Jerseymen. The very nature of their operations, requiring only a dock or a strip of beach for unloading purposes, rendered British retaliatory raids ineffective without constant surveillance of the inlets or permanent occupancy of the sites of easily reëstablished bases—neither of which was done. Speedy little American privateers continued to dart in and out from behind the barrier-beaches on their predatory attacks, and to the very end of the war the Jersey harbors were welcome havens for the privateer hawks.

[25] The reports of the expedition submitted by Ferguson and his naval officer are published in *The Remembrancer*, 1778–79 (London: 1779), 151–56.

SANDY HOOK AND THE MONMOUTH COUNTY SHORE, 1777

Sandy Hook Lighthouse, at left, was erected by the Province of New York n 1764 to mark the entrance to New York Harbor and is the oldest light- ıouse still in service in the United States. The foreground waters of Raritan Bay were plied by the Jersey whaleboat raiders of the Revolution. Aquatint from the *Atlantic Neptune* (British Admiralty, 1763–84)

The New-York Historical Society

THE WHALEBOAT RAIDERS OF RARITAN BAY

The most colorful exploits, though, were those of the Ameri- ın whaleboat privateersmen in the waters around Long Island ıd in New York Harbor—audacious forays which not only dis- ıpted the illicit trade and intercepted vessels carrying fuel, ›rage, and provisions to the British garrison in New York, but so resulted in landings on the Island to attack enemy bases, to ›b and seize hostages, and to gain information of British move- ıents.

While Connecticut seamen harried the eastern Long Island aters and Long Island Sound, other courageous mariners sallied ›rth from the Monmouth and Middlesex shores of New Jersey to Raritan and Jamaica Bays and into New York Harbor to aylay British vessels and to set foot on the western tip of Long land to plunder and kidnap the Kings County loyalists. The :ploits of the Jerseymen were extremely hazardous when com- ıred with those of the Connecticut privateersmen, who oper- ed against what was, for the most part, a relatively undefended ıore where widely scattered British military posts allowed the vaders ample opportunity to strike and make off before help ›uld be dispatched to the threatened sectors. The Jersey craft, ı the other hand, coming mainly from New Brunswick on

the Raritan River and from the shores of Middletown Creek, moved about in the very teeth of the British harbor defenses. They were frequently out for days at a time, rowing by night and hiding by day in the creeks and swamps which fringed the bay. As the war progressed their boldness extended even to raiding the upper harbor and affixing a virtual blockade of the harbor entrances for unprotected craft.

The whaleboats in which these daring men moved about in the New York waters were double-bowed open craft, graceful in line, shallow in depth, light, fast, and easily controlled. To an untrained eye they seemed like delicate cockleshells, but they were sturdily constructed to ride the heaviest seas and withstand the hardest gales. Their average length was twenty-eight or thirty feet, and in width some six feet. They were sailed by a simple sprit-sail, or were pulled by great oars, sometimes as few as five and sometimes as many as sixteen, twenty-four, or possibly even thirty. Originally intended for hunting the great mammals of the sea, they were easily converted to combat use. Many were christened with names and armed with a gun in the bow, and they could hold ammunition and supplies sufficient to last for days at a time. How well equipped these craft must have been is shown by the fact that, when Marriner of New Brunswick went out on his last whaleboat raid just before his capture in 1780, he and his crew were away from their base for two weeks. Though these raiders operated mainly with whaleboats, barges, and light gunboats, they were sufficiently skilled in the handling of larger sailing craft to navigate their prizes easily into port.[20]

One of the better-known of the New Brunswick whaleboat commanders was Captain William Marriner, originally a shoemaker and later an innkeeper, who at one time had been incar-

[20] The Deputy Adjutant-General of the British Army made reference in 1781 to American whaleboats which rowed sixteen oars.–F. Mackenzie, *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie*, II (Cambridge: 1930), 526. The *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* for February 28, 1782, reported the launching of an American boat rowing thirty oars, and the same newspaper for April 15 and July 22 made reference to whaleboats rowing twenty-four oars.

rated by the British in the New York Provost Prison. He first ppears in June 1778 when he crossed Raritan Bay with a ouple-dozen men in two whaleboats, landed about midnight at ew Utrecht on the Long Island shore, and marched inland to latbush with an avowed intention of capturing Mayor David latthews of New York, who lived in the village and had ill-eated Marriner during his captivity. Matthews managed to save mself by locking himself in his garret, and Marriner had to be tisfied with the seizure of Major Thomas Moncrieffe and The-phylacte Bache and several slaves whom he carried off. A loyal-t officer shortly afterwards commented wryly: "It is perhaps ie most extraordinary circumstance that ever took place. A irty of men to land in a clear evening, pass five miles in a public ad by a great number of houses, enter a town, take two of the rincipal inhabitants and return and embark unmolested—is not a pleasant telling story."[27]

On November 3d Marriner landed again near New Utrecht, bbed the loyalists Simon and Jacques Cortelyou of £200 in ash, linens and blankets, and carried both into captivity.[28] Re-ppearing in April 1780 with nine men in a whaleboat, he cap-ired the privateer brig *Blacksnake* and the armed schooner *Morning Star* and brought both into Little Egg Harbor.[29] In the llowing July Marriner and Captain Thomas Clark and twenty-ght comrades left New Brunswick in two well-provisioned haleboats. After being out for fourteen days they finally man-ged, early in August, to capture a schooner in Jamaica Bay, but n the next day they had the misfortune to fall into the hands of ie Long Island militia and were taken captive to New York.

[27] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, June 15, 1778; *New Jersey Archives*, series, II, 255; H. Onderdonk, *Revolutionary Incidents of Queens County* (New rk: 1846), 178–82; General Jeremiah Johnson, "Recollections of Brooklyn and ew-York in 1776," in *Naval Magazine*, I (New York: 1836), 564–65; A. Graydon, *emoirs of His Own Time* (Philadelphia: 1846), 316–18; W. O. Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers, 1776–1826* (St. John: 1901), 28–29.

[28] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, November 8, 1778; H. Onderdonk, *. cit.*, 185; *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, II, 525, 546.

[29] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, April 24, 1780; *New Jersey Archives*, series, IV, 351–52.

Marriner's activities had incensed the New York loyalist magistrates to such a degree that he probably never would have been allowed the parole which was granted him had he not been instrumental in saving the life of Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe of the Queen's Rangers during a British raid into New Jersey in 1779.[30]

There is little doubt that many of the whaleboat raids onto Long Island were little better than brutal plundering expeditions with small regard for the feelings of those against whose homes the forays were directed. The patriot-governor of Connecticut had occasion to complain that the commanders of some of his armed boats at times exceeded their instructions by pillaging the inhabitants,[31] and even one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, William Floyd, a Long Islander by birth, deplored in 1781 the intolerable insults, abuse, whippings, and hangings which the Connecticut robbers inflicted even upon Islanders friendly to the American cause in order to make them reveal the hiding places of their wealth. He vouched that the nightmare of their existence was exceeded only by the terror experienced by those who lived on the Indian frontier, the sole exception being that the Long Islanders were spared the horror of the scalping knife.[32]

Besides Marriner, there were other New Brunswick whale-

[30] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, August 7, 1780; A. C. Hart, "Thomas Clark, Whale-Boat Captain," in New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XI (1926), 542–44. In April 1781 Marriner was still on parole in New Brunswick, and in the following October Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown was celebrated at his tavern by the New Brunswickers and several strangers, among them Sir James Jay, the brother of John Jay. People remembered Marriner in his later years as an eccentric character, witty, sarcastic, and full of anecdotes, who kept a tavern at Harlem on Manhattan Island and provided a dinner for Washington in July 1790 at the Roger Morris House. Marriner also lived on Ward's Island in the East River, and finally died in 1814 at the age of eighty-five as a result of a fall from his wagon.—H. Onderdonk, *op. cit.*, 185, 189; J. G. Simcoe, *Military Journal* (New York: 1844), 264, 288; *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, V, 320; J. Johnson, "Recollections of Brooklyn and New-York in 1776," *loc. cit.*, 564; C. B. Todd, "Whale-Boat Privateersmen of the Revolution," in *Magazine of American History*, VIII (1882), 181.

[31] *Public Records of the State of Connecticut*, II (Hartford: 1895), 110.

[32] W. Q. Maxwell, *A Portrait of William Floyd, Long Islander* (Setauket: 1956), 25–26.

oatmen such as Captains Thomas Clark, Peter Nafey, John orey (Storer), and Lieutenant Alexander Dickey,[33] but their ids pale into insignificance when compared with those of Cap- in Adam Hyler. Under Hyler's leadership the New Bruns- ickers gained their greatest notoriety, and none surpassed him daring or captured popular imagination more than he during ie period 1781–82. Newspapers of the day, both American and ritish, were filled with accounts of his colorful exploits in the rbor and his raids into Kings County and around Sandy Hook raids almost reminiscent of the incursions of the freebooters of ie Spanish Main. The loyalist *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* described him as a "deserter" from the Royal cause[34]— hich, in one sense, makes his deeds even more admirable for ieir reckless heroism, for, if deserter he was, he certainly risked hangman's rope if captured by the British. His gunboat *Re- enge* was sometimes supported by other whaleboats and small raft, and when the loyalists raided Toms River in March 1782 ney seized among the spoils a "fine large barge" which they laimed belonged to Hyler.[35]

Hyler depended completely upon stratagem and surprise. He perated only with picked men, expert with the oar, who could andle their boats with amazing skill, and a claim was made that ney could row twelve miles an hour so silently that even three r four boats together could pass unheard at the smallest distance. Rarely did their victims know of their proximity until they saw pistol or a cutlass at their throats, and if any of Hyler's men howed signs of fear he never again was permitted to accompany he captain.[36]

Hyler had great success in the capture of enemy craft, which e mostly brought into New Brunswick to be sold by order of

[33] See A. C. Hart, "Thomas Clark, Whale-Boat Captain," *loc. cit.*; and J. Neafie, Captain Peter Nafey and His Whaleboat Crew in the Revolution," in New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIII (1928), 421–24.

[34] The issue for January 14, 1782.

[35] Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, March 27, 1782.

[36] E. Salter and G. C. Beekman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (Freehold: 1887), 26, citing an "ancient paper" published on June 19, 1782.

the Admiralty Court, but there were times when it was impossible for him to make port because of contrary or failing winds, or because his prizes grounded, or because he was too closely pursued by the British. On such occasions, he would strip his prizes of whatever he could, then blow them up or set them aflame. Sometimes, too, if a vessel was of insignificant importance, such as a fishing boat, he would ransom her to her captain or owner for sums varying from $100 to $500.

A notice in December 1780 contains one of the earliest references to this intrepid officer when it made mention of the sloop *Susannah* which he had "lately taken" off Staten Island.[37] Hyler's attacks mainly took place in Raritan Bay and in the waters near the Narrows, such as in April 1781 when he and Dickey captured and plundered a sloop off Coney Island,[38] but in that same year he also headed several forays into Kings County. On April 15th he crossed to Gowanus and kidnapped a Hessian major and an ensign from their cantonment, and accomplished the feat so quietly that the nearby guards remained unaware of his presence until the Americans and their unwilling captives were beyond their reach.[39] On June 14th he surprised the household of Nicholas Schenck on the Canarsie shore of Jamaica Bay, robbing him of his family plate and everything the men could carry away, and on the night of August 4th he plundered the Flatlands home of Colonel Jeromus Lott of £600 in cash and carried him off captive with some other farmers and a few slaves.[40]

Even the upper harbor within the Narrows was not safe. On the night of May 19–20 two New Brunswick whaleboats of six-

[37] *New Jersey Gazette*, January 3, 1781.

[38] Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, April 14, 1781. Rivington blamed the capture of the sloop on Dickey and Marriner, but on April 24 Marriner wrote from New Brunswick that he was still on parole after his capture by the British in 1780, and that he had taken no part in the seizure of the sloop which Hyler and Dickey had waylaid. Marriner's letter was published in Rivington's paper on April 28.

[39] H. Onderdonk, *Revolutionary Incidents of Queens County*, 189; General Jeremiah Johnson, "Recollections of Brooklyn and New-York in 1776," in *Naval Magazine*, I, 562.

[40] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, June 18, August 13, 1781; *New Jersey Gazette*, August 15, 1781; J. Johnson, *loc. cit.*, I, 562.

ten oars each moved through the dark waters as high as Gover-
ors Island, seized four or five boats on the shore at Yellow Hook,
dnapped several men, and captured a British pilot boat. The
oublesome effects of these exploits were even discussed at Brit-
n headquarters, where the Deputy Adjutant-General deplored
hat a sad reflection it was on efficiency of the Royal Navy that
merican boats were permitted to enter a harbor so full of Brit-
h ships. He was clearly of opinion that the American craft
ould never have made the lengthy return journey to their New
ersey base before daybreak, and he was certain that on raids
ich as this these "plundering gentry" must conceal themselves
uring the daylight hours in the creeks on the south shore of
taten Island and in the marshes near Coney Island. "These fel-
ws may do much mischief," he wrote, "if not soon destroyed,
no Merchant Ship, unless well manned and extremely watch-
l, is safe at anchor anywhere within the hook."[41]

One month later the New Yorkers heard that several whale-
oats built at Philadelphia had been carted across New Jersey to
New Brunswick for harassing the British.[42] In early October
Hyler captured five vessels within a quarter of a mile of the Brit-
h guard ship at Sandy Hook, and eight days later a sloop and
wo schooners in the same vicinity. On October 24th he at-
empted to surprise a loyalist post near the Sandy Hook light-
ouse where, according to an American newspaper, "the horse
hieves resort," but the loyalists were out on a raid in Monmouth
nd all Hyler could lay his hands on were six prisoners. On
November 10th he captured the ship *Father's Desire* near the
Narrows, and on December 15th two Refugee sloops trading
vith Shrewsbury, which had £600 in specie on board and a con-
iderable quantity of dry goods, rum, and sugar.[43]

That same month the British Deputy Adjutant-General re-

[41] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, May 21, 1781; F. Mackenzie, *Diary of rederick Mackenzie*, II, 526, 528. The "hook" to which Mackenzie makes reference Sandy Hook.

[42] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, June 18, 1781.

[43] *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, V, 306, 311, 320, 322, 326, 337; E. Salter and G. C. eekman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth*, 125.

ported that rebel whaleboats from New Brunswick were especially active in the lower bay. Their crews landed almost nightly on Long Island, and on one raid carried off five soldiers of the King's American Dragoons who were lodged in sick quarters near New Utrecht.[44] On the winter night of January 4, 1782, Hyler attacked two boats standing in from Sandy Hook to New York, but he was driven off by the British who gave him a "pretty warm Reception."[45] By this time his exploits had become so irksome to the British that five days later they sent a detachment of soldiers in six boats on a reprisal raid to New Brunswick. They landed at Hyler's base and brought off all of his seafaring craft, but this failed to stop the captain, for in February the British learned that he had recently launched a new boat in the Raritan which rowed thirty oars.[46]

He came out again with a gunboat and barge on the night of April 19–20, boarded a British trading sloop which he ransomed, and then captured the anchored 16-gun British sloop-of-war *Alert* near Sandy Hook with her crew of forty-six. The *Alert* was the most important prize which Hyler ever seized, but he failed to bring her in, for, after a two-mile run, the wind failed and he was compelled to blow her up, first removing what he could, and then escape in small boats to Middletown Point with his spoils and captives.[47]

It must have been about this time that Hyler struck into the very heart of the enemy base at New York. On April 12, 1782, the American officer, Captain Joshua Huddy, who had been captured at Toms River, was summarily hanged on the Monmouth coast by a band of loyalists commanded by Captain Richard Lippincott. Nine days later Washington demanded that Lippincott be delivered to the Americans for punishment as

[44] F. Mackenzie, *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie*, II, 705.

[45] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, January 7, 1782.

[46] *Ibid.*, January 14, February 28, 1782.

[47] *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, V, 425–26, 433, 435. See also the documents in the accompanying Livingston papers, *post*. On April 9, 1782, three whaleboats attacked the British privateer brig *Jolly Tar* off Sandy Hook, but were driven off.—*New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, April 15, 1782.

murderer, but the British refused, and during the drawn-out gotiations which followed, Hyler determined to kidnap Lipncott from his lodgings in New York.

Accompained by a spirited band of men who were deceivgly dressed as a British man-of-war press gang, he rowed from ew Jersey to the Whitehall Ferry Stairs at the tip of Manhatn Island, where he landed and left his boat in charge of three of s sailors and hurried with the others to Lippincott's quarters Broad Street. The latter, unfortunately, was absent at a cockt, and Hyler had to return empty-handed to his boat, but he no oner pulled into the harbor off the Battery than his old urging me upon him and he boarded and captured an anchored West dian sloop which he sailed through the Kill van Kull to the merican post at Elizabethtown Point.[48]

There was no lessening of Hyler's work as 1782 wore on. In ay mention was made of the schooner *Speedwell*, then at Toms iver, which he had recaptured from the British schooner ikey.[49] On May 25th he pounced on four vessels on the Shrewsury Banks[50] and then fell back into the Shrewsbury River. But is time he was more closely pursued than on other occasions twenty-five British soldiers in a whaleboat commanded by ptain John Schaak of the 57th Regiment. Schaak took post at narrow gut in the Sandy Hook peninsula through which he iew Hyler would have to pass. But the latter was slippery and sourceful. Observing the British and refusing to allow himself fall into Schaak's trap, he landed some of his men and charged e enemy, killed and wounded four of them, took Schaak and ght others prisoners along with their whaleboat, and put the st to flight.[51]

[48] General Jeremiah Johnson, "Recollections of Brooklyn and New-York in 1776," *Naval Magazine*, I, 563–64. Johnson secured the information of Hyler's exploits m Abraham Messerole of New Jersey, who was one of Hyler's crew and accomied him on the forays which he described.

[49] *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, V, 445, 454.

[50] The *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, May 27, 1782, states that this pture was made on May 25, but the *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, V, 450, citing *New Jersey Gazette* for June 5, gives the date of capture as May 24.

[51] *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, V, 447, 450.

In June and July Hyler's raiders were especially active against loyalist fishing boats and trading vessels. The whaleboat attacks by this time had virtually broken up the loyalist fisheries in the ocean near Sandy Hook upon which the New Yorkers relied for much of their subsistence. Faced with the ever-present danger of American raids, it took a stout loyalist heart to venture onto the Shrewsbury Banks. In May 1781 when the New York Chamber of Commerce petitioned for more efficient protection of the sea lanes leading to the harbor, it pointed out that unless an armed vessel was posted daily on the Banks to protect loyalist fishing craft against attack by American whaleboats and gunboats based "upon the adjacent shores" it would soon be "totally impracticable" to continue the fisheries. More than a year later, in July 1782 when Hyler was busy, the Chamber again voiced its opinion that the trade lanes and the fisheries were unprotected, and it entreated the British naval and military authorities to take steps to encourage fishermen to sail to the Banks so that their operations would not be "annoyed by the Privateers and Whaleboats that infest even the Narrows."[52]

On June 13th it was reported that one of Hyler's boats had just returned from a cruise among the traders with ninety pounds of tea which had been seized on its way from New York to Monmouth County. On the next day his raiders were on the verge of apprehending several fishing craft on the Banks when they were driven off by the appearance of the British privateer *Lark*. Later that same month the New Jersey Admiralty agent at Raritan Landing reported that several privateers were fitting out at New Brunswick, and that Hyler had secured another privateer called the *Active*, mounting two guns and four swivels, which had been captured by Captain Thomas Quigley and condemned by the Admiralty Court.

On June 26th Hyler informed the Governor that he was going out again with his old gunboat. At midday on July 2d he and

[52] J. A. Stevens, ed., *Colonial Records of the New York Chamber of Commerce, 1768–1784*, 256, 285.

aptain John Storey (Storer) captured, near the Sandy Hook
ardship, the 8-gun schooner *Skip Jack*, which proved none
her than the tender in service on the flagship of the British
val Commander-in-Chief on the North American Station. At
e same time he seized two fishing vessels and three trading
ssels loaded with calves and sheep on their way to New York,
d on the night of July 9th two fishing boats near the Narrows
one of which he had already taken twice previously. Seven
ys later he and Dickey attacked a British galley in Prince's Bay
ith three boats, but they were driven off and had to land on
aten Island where they engaged the enemy in a "smart combat"
fore abandoning one of their craft and making their way back
New Jersey.[53]

Hyler's foray in Prince's Bay must have been among the last
his exploits, for he died on September 6, 1782, "after a tedious
d painful illness" and was buried with military honors in an
marked grave in the churchyard of the Reformed Dutch
hurch at New Brunswick. Some sources ascribe the cause of his
ath to poisoned food which had been served to him by a loyal-
woman in a South Amboy tavern, but Rivington's *Royal*
azette says he died from "a wound in the knee" which Hyler
mself accidentally inflicted. His passing was severely felt
nong his seafaring comrades. The patriot *New Jersey Gazette*
aised him in an obituary which stated that "His many enter-
ising acts in annoying and distressing the enemy, endeared him
the patriotic part of his acquaintance."[54] There seemed little
elihood that the raiders of Raritan Bay would see the likes of
m again.

The whaleboat raids continued after Hyler's death, but none

[53] See the documents in the Livingston Papers, *post*, and the *New York Gazette d Weekly Mercury*, June 17, July 8, 15, 22, 1782; *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 15, 1782; Onderdonk, *Revolutionary Incidents of Queens County*, 194–95. One of the hing boats which Hyler seized on July 2 was retaken by the British on the follow- g day, and on July 5 was captured again by the Americans under Captain Storey in e Narrows and ransomed for $100.

[54] Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, September 11, 1782; *New Jersey Gazette*, September , 1782; New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIII (1928), 423– ; H. Onderdonk, *op. cit.*, 195.

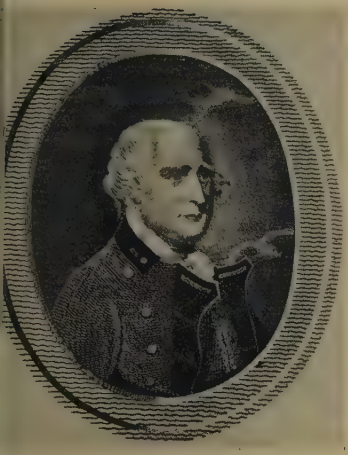
were to gain the ominous prominence attained by the redoubtable Adam. In November 1782, two months after he left this world, the *New Jersey Gazette* reported that Captain Storey (Storer) had captured a British vessel within pistol-shot of a fourteen-gun shore battery on Staten Island, and that Storey gave promise of being "the genuine successor of the late valient Capt. Hyler."[55] However, with the war nearing its end, actual strife was lessening and there was no occasion for the forays which marked the days of Marriner and Hyler. Not all of the American whaleboats were as fortunate as those which made off with prizes. Some were seized by the British during the course of their raids,[56] but for the most part they eluded almost every effort of the British to take them and continued their operations in a little-known phase of the war which demonstrated the enterprising and heroic skill of the participants and the ferocity of partisan warfare.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

William Livingston (1723–1790), the wartime Governor to whom these letters were sent, was born in Albany and graduated from Yale College in 1741. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1748, and became prominent in the politics of mid-18th-century New York, a leading Whig and Presbyterian, and a member of the famed New York Triumvirate. However, when he retired to his Elizabethtown country estate in the early 1770s, Livingston forsook his native Province and rapidly became one of the rising figures in New Jersey politics. He served in the Continental Congress, was appointed a Brigadier-General

[55] H. Onderdonk, *op. cit.*, 196, citing *New Jersey Gazette*, November 13, 1782.

[56] The *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, for instance, reported on July 30, 1781, that nine of the "Jersey Plunderers" had been captured in their whaleboat on the preceding day by the loyalist Queens County Militia. On September 8, 1782, Hyler's brother-in-law, Captain Peter Nafey (Nephew), and twelve of his American crew were captured in their whaleboat *General Greene* and brought captive to New York. This was two days after Hyler's death. See Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, September 11, 1782; H. Onderdonk, *op. cit.*, 196; and J. Neafie, "Captain Peter Nafey and His Whaleboat Crew in the Revolution," in New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, New Series, XIII (1928), 421–24.



SIR GUY CARLETON (1724–1808)
ritish Commander-in-Chief, 1782–83
Voodcut in James Murray's *Impartial History of the Present War* (1779)

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON (1723–1790)
Governor of New Jersey, 1776–90
Silhouette cut at Peale's Museum
The New-York Historical Society

nd Commander-in-Chief of New Jersey militia, and was elected rst governor of the new State in 1776. As such he served conientiously until his death fourteen years later. He was a tall, are man, petulant, impatient, nervous and excitable, a person boundless energy who wielded a facile pen in the composition satirical verse and witty broadsides. Rivington's *Royal Gatte* called him the "Don Quixote of the Jerseys," and a French fficer compared him in bearing to a Roman who was called rutus by his compatriots and an American Nero by the yalists.

Until recently the twenty-two documents which follow, overing the period from January through July of 1782, were reserved by the Governor's descendants, and, save for the Brit- pass of January 22d, were addressed to him at Trenton where e New Jersey General Assembly then sat and which in 1790 as to become the State capital. The British pass, the lone docuent not sent directly to Livington, probably found its way into

his hands as a result of the examination made into the status of certain loyalist prisoners in American hands whose releases were being sought by the British.

Scattered through these manuscripts is mention of much of the activity which went on along the coast. Here are references to raids and fears of raids, the attack on Toms River, the illicit trade and prisoners of war, and the forays of the whaleboat men. Here are letters from the Admiralty agents at New Brunswick and Raritan Landing relating to the bonding of privateers and the attempted procurement of a commission for Lieutenant Barrent Hartwick. Here are reports relating to the exploits of that noted New Brunswicker, Captain Adam Hyler—especially with respect to his capture of the British sloop-of-war *Alert*, and the subsequent attempt made by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania to claim custody of her commanding officer as a renegade traitor from that State.

The identities of many men in these documents have receded into the shadows of time—inconspicuous individuals whose identities now have to be laboriously ferreted out in old records. Others, equally obscure, except for their involvement in dramatic episodes which captured public attention, have attained niches in history denied many of their more prominent contemporaries—men such as Captain Joshua Huddy of Colt's Neck, commander of the Toms River blockhouse at the time of the attack in 1782, whose unwarranted execution by the loyalists was to bring about the Asgill case which involved the Continental Congress and the heads of armies and nations on both sides of the Atlantic.

Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown and fighting on land was in a decline in 1782 when these letters were written, but the waters off the Jersey shore and around the Delaware and Chesapeake Capes were infested with British cruisers and loyalist privateers, and their activity did much to make the coastal waters dangerous for American shipping. One of the interesting points brought out in the January letters from Toms River is that armed

fugee boats were based on the coast near Little Egg Harbor
m where they could harass the Americans and also protect
eir own vessels engaged in the thriving illicit trade. Interesting,
o, is word of the duplicity of the inhabitants living in the Egg
arbor vicinity, who dealt with the enemy and were regarded
the Americans as no better than the Refugees themselves.

Washington had learned from Livingston of the establishment
the enemy post, mentioned in these papers, and of the "con-
nt intercourse" carried on by water between the Refugees and
e local people, but he explained his doubts that any military
rce he could spare could prevent this "pernicious and growing
affic," for if the loyalists were kept out of one inlet they would
ly use another, and the only way to make headway against the
lawful barter between the lines would be for the States to pass
ws against it and impose the death penalty for traitorous associ-
ion. "This I long ago foresaw and recommended," he said.
We are I believe the only Nation who suffer their people to
rry on a commerce with their enemy in time of War."[57]

Though American privateering was a thorn to the British, the
mericans likewise had reason to fear enemy raids. The same
tters which were written from Toms River also voice the anx-
ty of the villagers in anticipation of Refugee raiders and cite
e measures taken for defense—anxieties which were fulfilled
vo months later when the loyalists laid waste the settlement in
attack which is succinctly described in Colonel Samuel For-
an's terse message to the Governor on March 25th.

In similar vein are the communications sent to Livingston by
sse Hand of Cape May relative to affairs in that most southerly
d isolated of New Jersey counties. Though not one engage-
ent was fought on Cape May soil during the war, her popu-
tion of some 2,000 people shared the anxieties of the struggle,
nt aid to the American cause, and armed and manned a number
privateers and gunboats to protect themselves against enemy

[57] J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, XXIII (Washington:
37), 444–45.

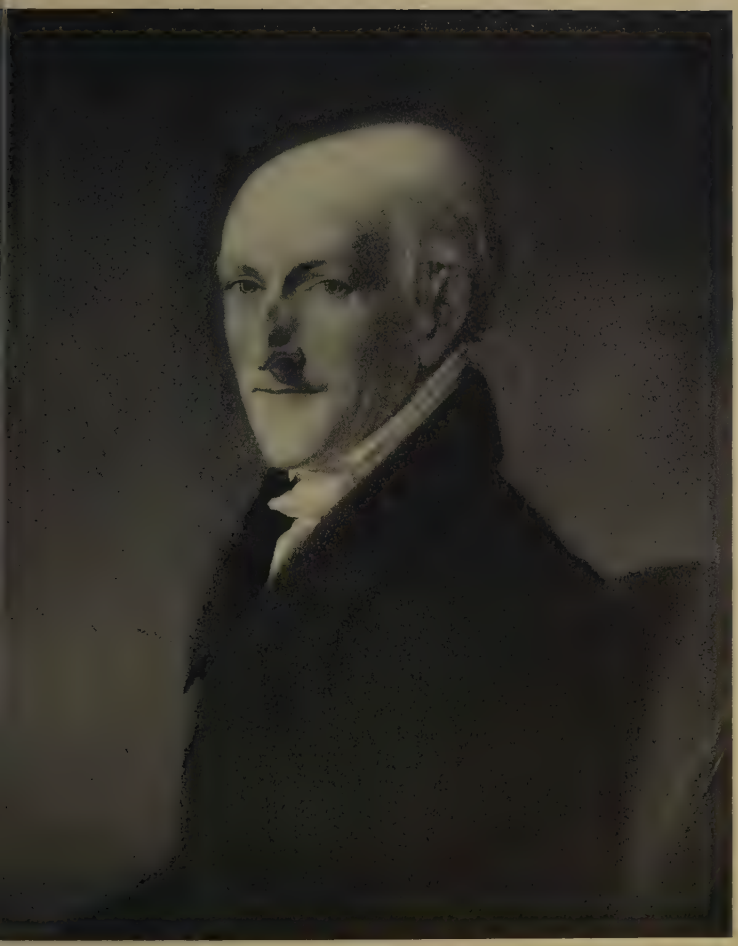
raiding parties which threatened to destroy their homes and salt-works and to plunder the county. This uneasiness is manifest in Hand's two letters, especially in that of April 8th relative to the victory off the Cape of the Pennsylvania State cruiser *Hyder Ally* over the British sloop-of-war *General Monk*, in an action praised by James Fenimore Cooper as "one of the most brilliant that ever occurred under the American flag."[58]

Livingston's most noted correspondent in these papers was the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Guy Carleton, who succeeded to the American command in February 1782. Pressure for peace was mounting in England after Cornwallis' surrender, and Carleton's first act upon his arrival at New York in May was to attempt to heal the festering hatred then existing between the Americans and British because of Huddy's execution by the loyalists—a crime which Carleton termed an atrocity "scarcely to be paralled in history." Within two days after his landing, Carleton released Livingston's son, Henry, a British captive, and through him sent a letter to the Governor expressing a desire that acts of retaliation should cease.

Even in the few Carleton letters here published one is permitted insight into his humane feelings, his dispassionate tact, his clarity of analysis, and his breadth of vision. Carleton's own humanity in the treatment of prisoners had been attested by the American captives he took during the Canadian campaign of 1775–76. These soldiers returned to their own lines with nothing but praise for their treatment from so noble an enemy. Perhaps there is much basis for the claim that Carleton might have won the war for England had he been made Commander-in-Chief years earlier and exercised universally the policy of clemency toward the Americans which earned for him such praise within his more limited commands.

The correspondence between Carleton and Livingston also

[58] J. F. Cooper, *History of the Navy of the United States of America*, I (London: 1839), 269. See also, *Geology of the County of Cape May, State of New Jersey* (Trenton: 1857), 195; L. T. Stevens, *The History of Cape May County* (Cape May City: 1897), 183–216.



HENRY BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON (1757–1823)

Who was released from British captivity in 1782 to carry Sir Guy Carleton's
May 7th letter to his father, William Livingston, Governor of New Jersey

Portrait by John Vanderlyn (1775–1852)

Gift of John A. and Walter E. Devereux, 1942

took under consideration the treatment accorded to several New Jersey loyalists who had been captured by the Americans—some in violation of flags-of-truce—and were being held by the New Jersey civil authorities as traitors to the State. Carleton, in addition to expressing his concern at the discourtesy thus accorded the white flags, demanded that these men be tolerantly treated as prisoners of war and the threat of death removed from their persons, but the Jerseymen regarded them as subjects of the State, amenable to State law, and therefore liable to the death penalty.

Livingston had expressed his concurrence with Carleton that acts of retaliation and inhumanity should terminate, but the ill-treatment and threat of death against these loyalists brought sterner letters from Carleton in June and July, reflecting his growing impatience with the New Jersey civil authorities. Livingston, himself, had little stomach for the loyalists. A Tory, to him, was nothing more than "an incorrigable animal" whose extinction alone could suppress "his Malevolence against Liberty." Small wonder that the loyalists regarded him as an American Nero.

Carleton tried to put pressure on Washington to claim these captives as legitimate prisoners of war and to treat them accordingly, but Washington refused to interfere in what he considered a civil rather than a military matter. In September he remarked that, though the British Commander-in-Chief had several times stated that all hostilities stood suspended on his part, it was obvious that the King's cruisers were unusually active off the coast and Carleton's expression certainly needed greater clarification.[59]

The spelling and capitalization of the original documents have been retained without change. Editorial additions are limited to punctuation at several points for ease of reading and to the footnotes. Here, then, are dramatic letters of war in the words of men long since dead:

[59] J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, IX (Washington: 1933), 316, note; XXV (Washington: 1938), 137. Livingston informed Henry Laurens in 1778 that any forgiveness of the loyalists by the Americans would "require a double portion of the grace of God, than be effected by a thousand resolves of Congress."—T. Sedgwick, *A Memoir of the Life of William Livingston* (New York: 1833), 286–87.

Major John Cook[60] *to Governor William Livingston*

Toms River[61] y^e^ [10] Jany. 1782

[Received Your Excellencies Letter of 8th Ins^t^ I am Not able to answer
our Excellency as Particular as I would Wish. We Ware under armes
Nite, on Information of about thirty Refugees Being on Horse Within
Miles. As to Osburns Island[62] I have Never Been on. By the Best infor-
ition it Joines the Maine Land. The Entrence is By a Causeway Near
lf a mile and a Bridge of 12 feet or there a[bouts]. Their fortification I
ve No Particulars of Nor Cannon. I Supose they may on Occations
ccasions] take Such as they have in their Boats When Occation Re-
iers. Regular Troops I have No accounts of Being With them. The
efugees By the Best information I can Git is from Fifty to Eighty.
i[e]ir Boats Are armed, the one With a 6 Pounder Swivels &c. the
her one With 2 Small Car[ri]age Guns Swivels &c. By Good Intelli-
nce Another Large Armed Boat Went thro the Bay Last Sunday to
ine them & Protect their Trade. Their Officers Names that I have
llected are as Follows: Capt. Deven Port,[63] Capt. Whealor, Capt.
muel Ridgaway.[64] Several of thir Crew By information are Such as
ve Been Pardoned By Your Excellency, and Broke Goale &c. If any
nitions [omissions] is in Giveing the Within Acts [accounts] I hope
our Excellency & Goodness Will Excuse them. I am

Your Excellencys Most Obediant and Humble Servant

John Cook

Addressed:] To Wiliam Livingston Govenour and Commander in Chief
of the State of New Jersey. By Express
Endorsed:] Letter from Major Cook, 10 January 1782

[60] Major John Cook of the Second Regiment, Monmouth County Militia. He lived
Toms River and was bayonetted and killed in the attack on the Toms River block-
use on March 24, 1782.

[61] Toms River, formerly in Monmouth County, but now in Ocean County, N. J.

[62] Osborn's Island was situated in the swamps south of Little Egg Harbor village on
e north edge of the Great Bay at the mouth of the Mullica or Little Egg Harbor
ver. It was purchased by Richard Osborn, who migrated here from Long Island
out 1715, and descended to other members of his family. The British expedition
der command of Captain Patrick Ferguson landed on the island on the morning of
ctober 15, 1778, and forced Thomas Osborn to guide them to the mainland in their
ack on part of Pulaski's Legion near Little Egg Harbor village.

[63] Captain Richard Davenport, a Refugee loyalist who was active during the war
the vicinity of Toms River. He participated in the attack on the Toms River
ockhouse on March 24, 1782, and was reported wounded in the assault. In June
82 he was killed by the Americans in Barnegat Bay, at the mouth of the Forked
ver, while on an expedition to destroy some saltworks.

[64] There were members of the Ridgway family settled between Little Egg Harbor
lage and Little Egg Harbor River, near where Ferguson surprised the detachment
om Pulaski's Legion in 1778.

Captain Andrew Brown[65] *to Governor William Livingston*

Toms River January 10th 1782

Sir

Yours of the 8th Instant I rec^{d} Last Evening Just as I was going on Guard, being Alarmd here by a report of thirty Refugee horsemen being in this Neighborhood with an Intention to Visit this Place. However they have not appeared—tho we are under some apprehensions. If we Don't Visit then, they will us, our Numbers here Now being small, the Enlisted Mens time being out and the Militia very Slack in Coming in. I Can't Learn there is any Regular Troops with the Refugees at Egg Harbor. They are a set of out Casts under the Direction of one Devanport[66] and Ridgway, their Numbers from forty to one Hundred, at times, and they have Not Less than five Arm'd Boats, some of which Carry from a three to a Six Pounder with Swivels and Small Arms which are frequently Plying from thence to New York to Protect their Trading Boats of which they have a Number. I believe they have not fortified on Osborn's Island as was Reported. Osborn's Island Lies about Seven miles Southerly from Little Egg Harbor Meeting house.[67] It is Seperated from the Main by a small Creek with a bridge over it and a Long Caus[e]way. It is more Accessible by Land than by Water, It being shoal on the Bay side, the small Boats or Gall[e]ys may attack it by water. they Constantly frequent the town at the Meeting house known by the Name of Clam Town.[68] But when Ever they are attack[e]d or are Apprehensive, they fly to their Boats and Proceed to the Beach to the House of one Tucker where their Principal Rendezvous is, and where they Cant be Come at but by water.[69] As for the Inhabitants in the Neighborhood from all Information are not better than the Refugees as they do Countenance & Trade with them. Tuckers house Lies on the South side of Little Egg harbor Inlet and is about Nine Miles South East of Clam Town. This is all I Can at Present Inform your Excellency as the Express is now wait-

[65] Captain Andrew Brown of the First Regiment, Monmouth County Militia.

[66] Captain Richard Davenport. See note 63.

[67] Little Egg Harbor village, now Tuckerton, formerly situated in Burlington County, but since 1891 in Ocean County. The settlement was generally called Little Egg Harbor until 1798, when the name was changed to Tuckerton in honor of Ebenezer Tucker. Little Egg Harbor Meeting House was erected by the Quakers in 1709 and was demolished in 1863.

[68] Little Egg Harbor village was sometimes called Clamtown or Fishtown until the name was changed to Tuckerton.

[69] Tucker's Island is situated at the entrance of Little Egg Harbor and Great Bay, just inside the south tip of Long Beach. Reuben Tucker emigrated to this locality from Orange County, N.Y., and purchased the island in 1765 and erected a dwelling in which he lived for many years. One of his children was Ebenezer Tucker, for whom Tuckerton was named in 1798. The Little Egg Harbor Lighthouse was erected here in 1848.

g. anything that may Occur, I shall make it my Business to give you
e Earliest Intelligence and Am with much Respect Sir

Yr most Obedt

Andrew Brown

is Excellency Wm Livingston Esqr
Addressed:] His Excellency William Livingston Esqr, Trenton.
Endorsed:] Letter from Capt. Brown, 10 Jany 1782

Abiel Akin[70] *to Governor William Livingston*

Toms River January the 10th 1782

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I Receivd Yours of the 8th Instant Just as we was Going on Gard be-
g Alarmd by a Report of Thirty Refugee Horsemen being in this
eighborhood with an Intention to attack us. However they have Not
ppeard as Yet, tho we are of Opinion they Intend it. our Number here
Small. the Gard that was here is Discharged and the Militia very Slack
Coming to our Assistance which is very Discouraging. I Cant Learn
eir [there] is any Brittish with the Refugees at Egg Harbor. their
umber is from forty to Seventy Men and Commanded by one Daven-
ort[71] and Rigway. they have also five arm'd Boats, one of which Carries
ne Six pounder in the bow and Three Swivels of a Side And are Con-
anly plying up & Down the Bay and Supporting the Illisit [illicit]
rade. Their [there] is No Certainty of their Fortyfying on Osburns
land as has been Reported. Their Chief place of Rendevoose is at a
ittle Town Called Clamtown,[72] and when Ever they are attacked they
y to their boats & Run over to the beech [beach] to one Tuckers Who
ives on the beech where they Cant be Attced [attacked] but by Water.
is Reported they have Lately had a Reinforcement from New York,
ut No Certainty. I am not Able at this time [to] Give So Authentick
ccount of the Case I Could wish but will Inform You More particular
y the Next Oportunity that presents, but Assure you we are in a Most
istressed Sittuation. I am in Haste

Your Distressed Humble Servant

Abiel Akin

Addressed:] To His Excellency Wm Livingston Esq. att Trentown.
Endorsed:] Letter from Abiel Akin, 10 Jany 1782.

[70] Abiel Akin, tavernkeeper and local man of prominence residing at Toms River.
[71] Captain Richard Davenport. See note 63.
[72] Clamtown or Fishtown, later called Tuckerton.

Pass Issued by Captain J. Taylor

James Lacey
Lewis Blanchard
John Smith Hatfield[74]

Permission is given Frederick Verner to pass with a Flag [of] Truce on Board *Sally* Pettiauger to Eliz[th] Town,[73] taken [taking] with him Three hands to Navigate her whose Names are in the Margin for the purpose of Conveying two Letters, one for M: Adams & one for Maj[r] Skinner,[75] Commissary of Prisoner.

J. Taylor Capt
Command[t]

Deckers Ferry[76] 22[d] Jan[ry]

Jesse Hand[77] to Governor William Livingston

Cape May March y[e] 24[th] 1782

S[r]

Your Excellency May Remember that by a late law of the Legislature a Guard has been allowed to this County in its Very Dangerous and Distressed Situation, a favour which I trust its Inhabitants are Sensible of, and by that Law they Appointed (I make no doubt by the Recommenda-

[73] Elizabethtown, now Elizabeth, N. J., an important communication point during the war for flags-of-truce passing between the American and British lines. It also served as an exchange post for prisoners-of-war being liberated by the American and British forces.

[74] John Smith Hatfield, an Elizabethtown carpenter who joined the British Army after its landing on Staten Island in 1776. He subsequently served as a guide and pilot for the British, and, according to his own account, was instrumental in capturing a number of "notorious Rebels and persecutors of the Loyalists, so that all of them dreaded and hated him." His estate was confiscated by the Americans and was ordered sold in 1779. Coming out under protection of this flag-of-truce on January 22, 1782, Hatfield was permitted to stay overnight at Elizabethtown due to the inclement weather, and on the following morning was arrested by the Americans and sent in irons to Burlington, where he was still confined in the following June. See Sir Guy Carleton's letter of June 12 to Governor Livingston, *post*, demanding that Livingston remedy this deplorable infringement on a white flag. Hatfield later went into exile with his family in the Province of New Brunswick. In 1789 he sailed from St. John and returned to New York in an attempt to save some of his property in New Jersey and to recover some debts, but he was arrested and imprisoned in Newark and Bergen for eight months.—A. F. Jones, "The Loyalists of New Jersey: Their Memorials, Petitions, Claims, etc., from English Records," in New Jersey Historical Society *Collections*, X, 91–92.

[75] Abraham Skinner, Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners for the Continental Army, and John Adam, a Deputy Commissary for the same department.

[76] Decker's Ferry, now Port Richmond, Staten Island, N.Y. The ferry traversed the waters of the Kill van Kull from Staten Island to Bergen Point, now Bayonne, N. J.

[77] Jesse Hand, a prominent inhabitant of Cape May County, N. J., member of the Committee of Safety, 1775; New Jersey Provincial Congress, 1775–76; Committee of

n of the Members) a Certain Humphrey Stites[78] Captain, Allowing
n by his Commission to Act on Land and Water Occasionally. Where-
on Myself with a Number of others for our Mutual defence Set about
ilding a Large and Convenient Barge at a Great Expence, the better to
able Captain Stites to Defend the County and Annoy the Enemy, but
iat was our Surprize when after Captain Stites had Excepted [accepted]
e Service and Entered Most of his Men he took a Miff at the late
solution of Congress Concerning Captures, Declined the Service him-
f and Discharged his Men and has thereby left the County, without
ur Excellencys Enterposition, without a Guard. And as our only Relief
our Present Situation is by Application to your Excellency for another
ptain to be Appointed and an Allowance for a further time to Enlist
Men which I think is According to the Direction of the Law, You
ll Receive from the Members of the Legislature of this County by the
nd of Henry Townsend[79] Esq[r] a Recommendation for Colonel Élijah
and[80] to take Command of the Guard. This Gentleman is well Qualified
r the Service, being a Most Decided Character and has Already in his
ice of Colonel Shewed as Great Marks of Courage and Patriotism as
y Gentleman Perhaps During the war, is an orderly Citizen and a Man
Large Property and Must Undertake it Much to his own Damage
erely to Serve his Country. His Commission of Colonel was held in
umberland County, which he laid Down on Removing to this. He is the
me Gentleman who Commanded at Salem and wrote that Spirited
nswer to Colonel Mawhoods Letter when the Enemy was there, which
Remember Seemed to Meet your Excellency's Approbation.[81] So that if

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blic Safety, 1777–81; and of the State Council, 1779–81, 1782–84. In July 1776 he
ed to adopt the State Constitution. He later served as Surrogate from 1787 until
death in 1791.

[78] Captain Humphrey Stites of the Cape May Militia. On December 29, 1781, a call
s made for 422 men from various New Jersey counties to serve until December 15,
82. Stites was appointed captain of the Cape May company of twenty men. The
mpanies from Salem, Cumberland, and Cape May Counties were ordered to do
ity on land and water." In March 1782 they were permitted to cruise on Delaware
y, if necessary, between Cape May and Reedy Island, and in the ocean as far east
Little Egg Harbor.

[79] Probably Henry Young Townsend (1744–1789), Sheriff of Cape May County,
74–77; captain in the Cape May Regiment, 1777; member of the New Jersey As-
nbly, 1779–80.

[80] Elijah Hand, formerly Lieutenant-Colonel of the First Battalion, Cumberland
unty Militia, February 4, 1777, and Colonel on June 6, 1777. He later moved to
pe May County and accepted a commission as Captain in the Cape May Militia.
e Jesse Hand's letter to Livingston, April 8, 1782, *post*.

[81] Hand here alludes to the British expedition commanded by Colonel Charles
awhood which was sent from Philadelphia in March 1778 to pillage Salem County
the lower end of the Delaware River. On March 18 a severe engagement took
ce between Mawhood's troops and the American militia at Quinton's Bridge, and

he Should be favoured with the Commission there is no Doubt he will d
Honour to the Appointment. The Colonel of this County has Sent b
Esq[r] Townsend to the Commissary of Military Stores for Some Am
munition for the Guards Use. I Should in behalf of the County be Muc
Oblidged if your Excellency would be Pleased to Give him Directions i
Procuring it as we are Somewhat at a Loss how to Proceed, it being th
first Demand ever Made on the Magazine by this County, haveing on a
former Occasions at the Expence of a few Individuals found our ow
Stores of that kind, which Makes me flatter myself your Excellency wi
think we are Intituled to Some, if the State of the Magazine will admit o
it. Your Excellency will Please Excuse me for the Trouble of this Re
quest, as the Case with us is Urgent, Scarcely a day Passing but Some o
the Enemys Boats are Close in our Shore, taking almost Everything tha
Ventures to put afloat, Unless too Strong for them, and we are in dail
Expectation when the Practice of Plundering on the land will becom
General, as it has been only Partially Prevented by the Extraordinar
Spirit of the Inhabitants whenever Attempted.

I Remain with the Greatest regard

your Excellencys Most Sincere Friend and Very Hum[le] Ser[t]

Jesse Hand

His Excellency William Livingston Esq[r]

[*Addressed:*] His Excellency William Livingston Esq[r] Trenton, favour
by Henry Townsend Esq[r]

[*Endorsed:*] Letter from Jesse Hand Esq[r] 24 March 1782

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shortly thereafter the British surprised and massacred a small party of Americans
Hancock's Bridge. Colonel Hand and his Cumberland militia were active in thes
operations. On March 21 Mawhood sent a letter to Hand, offering to reimbark h
troops without further damage to the country if the Americans would lay dow
their arms and return to their homes, but if they refused he would arm the loyalis
and would destroy their homes and property and reduce their families "to beggar
and distress." Hand replied on the following day, condemning the butchery of th
Americans at Hancock's Bridge, and asserting that Mawhood's letter led him to b
lieve "that I am reading the cruel order of a barbarous Attila, and not of a gentlema
brave, generous, and polished, with a genteel European education." Hand went o
to say that if Mawhood attempted to put his threats into effect it would only serve t
increase the number of Britain's enemies, and the Americans also had it in the
power to destroy the property of loyalists. "Be assured," Hand said, "that these a
the sentiments, and determined resultion, not of myself only, but of all the office
and privates under me," and he closed with a bland hope "that this answer may reac
you in health and great happiness." For details of the Salem raid and the letters e
changed by the opposing commanders see J. W. Barber and H. Howe, *Historic
Collections of the State of New Jersey* (New York: 1844), 416–25.

Col. Samuel Forman[82] *to Gov. William Livingston*

Month [Monmouth] March 25th 1782

Extract of a Letter from Monmouth[83]

Sir

I am sorry to inform you that our post at Toms River was cut off sterday morning by a Party of Refugees under Command of Deven-rt.[84] on the alarm Cap^{t} Huddy[85] Repaired to the block house, some of e inhabitants joined him in the house & some outside. The house was efended as Long as they had ammunition, then surrendered. Maj^{r} Cook t of the house fell. 5 others were Killed & 2 wounded. Cap^{t} Huddy & e rest are Carried of Prisoners. Dan^{l} Randolph[86] Esq^{r} amongst the isoners. Abiel Akin Esq^{r} took his Crooked Leg out of the way on the rm. Cap^{t} Devanport was wounded (suppose since dead), one negro lled. After the Capture they layed the place in ashes—excepting Aaron ck, & the widow Studsons. The inhabitants have not savd more than norses will Draw. The enemy went off Immediately.[87]

[82] Colonel Samuel Forman of the Second Regiment, Monmouth County Militia.

[83] The line "Extract of a Letter from Monmouth" was added in a different hand bsequent to the date of the letter.

[84] Captain Richard Davenport. See note 63.

[85] Captain Joshua Huddy of the Monmouth County Militia, a tavernkeeper from blt's Neck.

[86] Daniel Randolph, magistrate and local man of prominence at Toms River.

[87] The engagement described in Forman's letter was the attack on the Toms River ockhouse by loyalist whaleboatmen and Refugees under command of Lieutenant anchard on Sunday, March 24, 1782. This military post stood on a knoll in the vil-ge and consisted of a rectangular open stockade, nearly square, constructed of up-ght log palisades, about seven feet high, which were pointed on top and loopholed r defense. Within this area stood a small building which also served as a barracks. n top of the palisades at each corner was mounted a swivel to command the sur-unding country, and, lacking a gate, access was had into the fort by climbing a lder. At the time of the attack the garrison consisted of twenty-five men com-anded by Captain Joshua Huddy.

The loyalist expedition sent from New York by the Board of Associated Loyalists as under command of Lieutenant Blanchard, who had with him about eighty of his vn whaleboatmen and about thirty or forty other Refugees—in all, a force of about o men. They sailed to Sandy Hook in their whaleboats on March 20 under convoy an armed brig, but were detained there for three days due to unfavorable winds. nally, on the twenty-third they pushed southward, passed through Cranberry Inlet, d landed near the mouth of Toms River about midnight. William S. Stryker, in his onograph on the Toms River attack, states that a detachment of armed Refugees ider Captain Richard Davenport, who were then active in the surrounding country, ined Blanchard on his march to the village. The combined force reached the cinity of the blockhouse at daybreak on March 24 and summoned it to surrender. uddy refused and Blanchard attacked immediately. The outnumbered Americans sisted obstinately with guns, bayonets, and pikes until their ammunition ran out d Huddy was compelled to capitulate. Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, publishing an count of the assault, states that twelve Americans were made prisoner, while the mainder were either killed or made their escape in the confusion. Among those

I have ordered 4 Classes of the Militia of Dover & Stafford[shire] to Mount guard Immediately. The 34 you ordered from my Reg[t] I shall also send to Reinforce them and hope your Excellency[s] Approbation. I wish in any future orders, attention may be paid to Dover & Stafford being frontiers and that men Cannot be Drawn from them to guard any other part of the Country. To Draw the full quota of my Reg[t] from upper Freehold Lays a hardship there. Dover & Stafford makes about ⅓ of my Reg[t]—

I am Y[r] Excellency[s] Ob[t] S[t]

SAMUEL FORMAN

N.B. The Refugees Number 100
[*Addressed:*] His Exc[y] William Livingston Esq[r] Trenton
[*Endorsed:*] Letter from Col. Forman, 25 March 1782

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killed was Major John Cook, who was bayonetted by a Negro after the blockhouse surrendered. Blanchard then destroyed the blockhouse by fire and burned the entire village with the exception of two houses—one belonging to Aaron Buck and the other to Mrs. Sarah Studson. As soon as this was done, the invaders evacuated the place. Huddy and the other captives were taken on board the Refugee boats and the expedition reached New York that same night.

Huddy's capture was to have far-reaching repercussions, for on April 8th he was removed from the Provost Prison in New York by order of the Board of Associated Loyalists, with two other Toms River captives, ostensibly to be exchanged for three loyalists in American custody. The sloop on board which he was then confined dropped down to Sandy Hook, and on the next day Huddy and his comrades were transferred in irons to the Sandy Hook guard ship. Here they were confined until April 12th, when Huddy was taken ashore by a party of loyalists commanded by Captain Richard Lippincott and summarily hanged in retaliation for the death of Philip White, a Monmouth loyalist who had been recently killed while attempting to escape from the Americans. The loyalists charged that Huddy had been responsible for White's death—a baseless charge, indeed, for White had been captured on March 29th while Huddy was captive in New York.

American furor over the hanging of the innocent commandant of Toms River rose to feverish heights. Washington demanded that Lippincott be turned over to the Americans for punishment as a murderer. Both Sir Henry Clinton, the British Commander-in-Chief, and his successor, Sir Guy Carleton, admitted that Huddy's death was an outrageous atrocity "scarcely to be paralled in history," but Lippincott was not surrendered, though compelled to stand trial before a British courtmartial. However, he took refuge behind his orders from the Board of Associated Loyalists and the court decreed that he was only obeying instructions. Unable to obtain Lippincott's surrender or punishment, public clamor for vengeance compelled Washington to convene a council of his officers, and they decided to select by lot from among British prisoners-of-war in American custody an officer of equal rank to Huddy to be hanged in reprisal. The unlucky man chosen was young Captain Charles Asgill of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, a son of Sir Charles Asgill, Baronet. Washington, himself, revolted at the thought of hanging Asgill, who was as innocent of crime as Huddy. Asgill's mother interceded in his behalf with King George III and with the French Court. Pity for Asgill was expressed throughout much of Europe. The French King and Queen were stirred in his behalf, and the Comte de Vergennes sent an appeal to Washington for his life, which the latter forwarded to the Continental Congress. On November 7th Congress ordered Asgill re-

Jesse Hand to Governor William Livingston

Cape May April 8th 1782

orthy Sr

have Received yours of ye 1st Instant Together with a Commission Captn Hand for which Please Except [accept] my Acknowledgement the favour. I am Sorry to understand our Magazine is in So bad Condin at this time of need. I hear Mr Townsend got no Ammunition, So t we must have Recourse to our former Method for a Supply. This v there has been the Most Severe Canonade in our bay by Some Ves-s, about ten or twelve in Number, I have heard on our Coast Since the r. Who they were or in whose favour it Ended we have not heard, but m appearances they were Some New York Privateers amongst Some rchant Men and I fear the latter Mostly or all taken One Ship run round and was boarded and Got off from a brig. We think the brig ght be the *Fair American*. The *Hyder Ally* is not yet Come Down bay, and if She was She is not of force by any Means Sufficient for Combined force of the New York Cruisers, as their [there] is four or e of them who take almost Every thing that attempts to pass.[49] Your

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sed and Washington freed him from the "disagreeable circumstances" of his pro-ged confinement. Asgill was permitted his liberty on parole, and in December 2 reached England and home.

[48] The townships of Dover and Stafford in Monmouth County.

[49] Hand's fears of British havoc among a group of American merchant ships horored off Cape May were unfounded. The naval battle to which Hand refers was engagement between the 16-gun Pennsylvania State cruiser *Hyder Ally*, Captain hua Barney (1759–1818), and H.M. Sloop-of-War *General Monk*, 20 guns, Cap-n Josias Rogers. Barney had received letters-of-marque on April 2d from the State Pennsylvania and was given command of the *Hyder Ally*, with orders to proceed wn the Delaware from Philadelphia in order to convoy a fleet of merchant ships Cape May, but on no account to proceed to sea. Barney and the merchantmen re anchored off the Cape on April 8th—the date of Hand's letter—awaiting a favor-e wind when they were observed by H.M.S. *Quebec* and the *General Monk*, ich were cruising off the coast to intercept American shipping. The British vessels ved in for the attack, but there was not sufficient water in the channel, so the *ebec* and the *General Monk* stood in alone with support from the 16-gun British vateer brig *Fair American*. Outnumbered and outgunned, Barney signalled his woy to stand up the bay while he covered the retreat with the *Hyder Ally*. The t obeyed and escaped, with the exception of the 12-gun ship *General Greene* ich, in attempting to support the *Hyder Ally*, ran aground on Cape May Point, l the *Charming Sally* which grounded on the Overfalls in the middle of the bay. e *Fair American* attempted to run down the *Hyder Ally* and made after the aping convoy, but she, too, grounded on the flats. Barney awaited the *General nk*, but instead of fighting superior odds broadside to broadside, he skilfully noeuvred his ship to rake and cripple the *General Monk* and, within twenty-six nutes, forced her to surrender. Barney avoided other enemy vessels in the vicinity l took his prize into Philadelphia, and for his gallant conduct received the thanks the State and was presented with a sword of honor. See H. Footner, *Sailor of For-ne: The Life and Adventures of Commodore Barney, U.S.N.* (New York: 1940),

Excellency will Please Excuse me for the trouble of this Letter as th
bearer, M^r^ Joseph Edwards, Anxiously Requested it in favour of hi
Unfortunate Son who was Lately Taken up for a Deserter in Trentor
This young Mans Case is most Certainly Very hard as he has done all i
his Power to Make up for his Deficiency in the army, having given
fellow a large Sum of Money to take his Place, who run away before h
Could Deliver him, and afterward gave a Sergant Six half Joannes t
Enlist a Man in his Room which he thought was done as their [there
was a Man Enlisted with the Money. And if good offices in a Deserte
Merits favour he May be Intitled to Some, haveing been So Extremel
Active in Distressing the Refugees, and Annoying the Common Enemy.
No less than two Express boats from Clinton[91] to Cornwallis[92] was Cap
tured by him, one of the Mail was Saved and is Said was of Great Cor
siquence, So that it is Much to be Doubted whether his Service in th
Army would have been of half So Much *Consiquence* to the Unite
States if he Could be Let at Liberty. I know he does not fall within you
Excellency's line, but as I likewise know that your Excellency's Intere
in the Matter would do a great deal with the Gentleman of the Arm
(with whom I have Scarce a Slight Acquaintance) I would therefor
Pray in behalf of the Distressed Mr. Edwards that your Excellenc
would Enterpose [interpose] your kind offices in his favour.

Give me Leave to Subscribe myself your Excellency's Sincere frien
and

Very Humble Servant

Jesse Hand

His Excellency William Livingston Esq^r^
[*Addressed:*] His Excellency William Livingston Esq^r^, Trenton, favou
by M^r^ Joseph Edwards
[*Endorsed:*] Letter from Hand, 8 April 1782

Joseph Hugg[93] to Governor William Livingston

Tim^r^ [Timber] Creek, April 13^th^ 178

D^r^ S^r^

The Bearer hereof Capt^n^ Davis waits on your Excell^y^ With a Certif
cate of his appointment to be Commissioned in the place of Simc

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104–09, 115; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st series, IX, 532, 621, 672; *Dictionary of Amer
can Biography*, I, 633–34.

[90] A Joseph Edwards (1757–1845) served as a Lieutenant in the Cape May Coun
Militia in 1775, later did duty as a corporal in the New Jersey Continental Line, a
also was active as captain of the privateer *Luck and Fortune*.—L. T. Stevens, "Ne
Jersey Soldiers from Cape May," in *Cape May Magazine*, I (1932), 47.

[91] Sir Henry Clinton (1738?–1795), Commander-in-Chief of the British Army
North America, 1778–82.

[92] Lieutenant-General Charles, Earl Cornwallis (1738–1805), who surrendered
Washington at Yorktown in 1781.

[93] Joseph Hugg of Gloucester County, a delegate to the New Jersey Provinc

cas.[94] I must beg leave to Suggest to your Excellency that it will be hly necessary he shou'd be Commissioned to act on the Water As it l not be in his power to protect the State Or annoy the Enemy shou'd be confined by his Commission to act on the Land only. There is a ge Galley nearly ready to be Launched, building at the Forks,[95] which o carry very heavy Metal. The Owners Wish, if it be practicable, that pt Davis's Com[pany] May be permitted to enter on board as Marines. ıpt] Davis & the Compy are equally anxious, and I must beg leave to n in oppinion, that they by acting in Conjunction may render some vice, and I am clear Of oppinion that if they are Stationed at Chestnut ck[96] they cannot possibly render the least Service, as The Enemy will ays avail themselves of the Water, in part.

I am Yr Very Hubl Servt

Jos Hugg

s Excellv William Livingston Esqr

ddressed:] His Excellv William Livingston Esqr At Trenton. P. Favour Capt Davis.

ndorsed:] Letter from Mr. Hugg, 13 April 1782

President William Moore of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania to Governor William Livingston

Council

Philadelphia April 23rd 1782

By the publick paper of this day[97] we observe that Captain Hyler of w Brunswick has taken a large Cutter,[98] commanded by one White,

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ıgress in August 1775 and to the New Jersey Convention in 1776. He was ap- nted Commissary of Purchases for West Jersey early in the war, and when the ish evacuated Philadelphia and retreated across New Jersey in 1778 he was de- ed to drive away the American livestock from their line of march. In 1781–82 he ed as a Gloucester delegate in the New Jersey Legislative Council.—*Minutes of Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey* (Tren- : 1879), 184, 446; T. Cushing and C. E. Sheppard, *History of the Counties of ucester, Salem, and Cumberland, New Jersey* (Philadelphia: 1883), 121, 123.

[94] These officers were Captains John Davis and Simon Lucas of the Gloucester nty Militia. In accordance with the demand for troops of December 29, 1781, as had been appointed to command the company from Gloucester County to do ty on land and water." See note 78, *ante*.

[95] The Forks of the Mullica River.

[96] Chestnut Neck on the south bank of the Mullica River in Gloucester (now antic) County, a fortified privateer post which was sacked by the British com- nded by Captain Patrick Ferguson in October 1778.

[97] The *Pennsylvania Journal*, Wednesday, April 24, 1782.

[98] The vessel to which Moore alludes was the British sloop-of-war *Alert*, which

formerly of this City, and from the circumstances which have come to our knowledge we suppose it is a certain Captain Robert White who stands attainted of High Treason against the State of Pennsylvania. Should the person taken by Captain Hyler be the said Captain Robert White, the Council request you will please to order him to be transmitted to this State, and delivered to William Will Esquire, Sheriff of the City and County of Philadelphia. Your Excellency will please to point out the time and place at which you chuse to deliver over Captain White, and orders shall be given to the said Sheriff to attend, to receive him. Captain White has been an attrocious offender, and as he is a Man of address, it will be prudent and necessary to guard against an escape. Should it be most agreeable to your Excellency an escort shall be sent into your State, and receive him there.[99]

I have the honour to be with great regard

Your Excellency's obedient and very humble Servant

Wm Moore
President

His Excellency Governor Livingston

John Bray[100] *to Governor William Livingston*

Raritan Landing 24th April 1782

Sir,

On Saturday Morning last Capt Hyler with his Gun Boat & Thirty five Men boarded a Trading Sloop Commanded by Capt Jas Corlies but finding nothing of any Consequence on Board thought it most adviseable to

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was captured by Adam Hyler, the noted New Brunswick privateer and whaleboat commander, on the night of April 19–20, 1782, near Sandy Hook.

[99] On April 26 Livingston replied to Moore that on the receipt of Moore's letter he immediately dispatched an express to Hyler at New Brunswick, directing him not to send White to the Commissary of Prisoners as was customary for the New Jersey privateers to do, but to "secure him in the best manner possible" and hold him until further orders. On the next day Livingston sent a second letter to Moore from Trenton, stating that he had received a return of the prisoners taken on the *Alert* and that he had "authentic proof" that White "is the very man whom you want." Unfortunately, though, Hyler had already sent White and the other captives to Elizabethtown and, Livingston said, "the Enemy having greatly the advantage of us in the number of marine Prisoners" the captives had been immediately sent to New York for exchange.—*Pennsylvania Archives,* 1st series, IX, 531; X, 730.

[100] John Bray of Raritan Landing on the Raritan River, one of the agents of the New Jersey Court of Admiralty. Newspapers of the day contain a number of public notices inserted by Bray, announcing sessions of the Court to dispose of captured vessels taken by the New Jersey privateers. See *New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, V, 147, 256, 401–02, 408, 445, 450, 454. In the endorsement on Bray's letter of June 24, 1782, *post*, Livingston identifies him as *Major* Bray.

fer her to be ransom'd which was accordingly done. He then pro-
ded to an Arm'd Cutter Sloop of War called the *Alert* which Mounted
18^{s}, 8 Dble fortified 9^{s}, & Two Six Pounders Commanded by Cap^{t}
b^{t} White. She was outward bound on a four Months Cruis[e]. Cap^{t}
ler and his Brave Crew with the greatest Spirit Boarded her and after
w Minutes Conflict, in which Cap^{t} White was Wounded, she Struck.
e *Alert* had 46 Men on Board, which so far exceeded Cap^{t} Hylers
nber that he was under the necessity of tying them by way of security
himself. This being done he made Sail but after running about Two
les, the wind not being favourable and impracticable with safety to
ke a Tack as it would have sent him down among the Fleet,[101] he ran
aground. This being done he took out of her a Quantity of Powder,
ms, A Valuable Chest of Medicine &c. &c. together with the Prisoners
l then blew her up, after which he brought the Prisoners &c to Middle
wn Point from which place they were Conducted (Save Eleven
groes which are detain'd for Tryale) to Elizabeth Town for Ex-
nge.[102] Several Men were Slightly wounded on both sides. Cap^{t} Hyler
gain out & beg'd in my Letter to you that I should particularly men-
n L^{t} Jn^{o} Bates, whose Bravery & good Conduct throughout the whole
erit the Greatest applause. I shall carefully examine the Papers that
re on board & if any of Consequence appear they shall be forwarded
you for y^{r} Perusal. Do herewith send you a list of the Prisoners Names
gether with their respective Ranks

Robert White Com^{dt}	James Scott, D^{o} Mate
John Phillips 1st Lieu^{t}	Rob^{t} Chapman, D^{o} D^{o}
Michael Lofters 2nd D^{o}	Alex^{r} Keating, Cap^{t} M.
James Wasper, Master	Tho^{s} Rees, Surgeon

[101] The British fleet anchored in New York harbor.

[102] The *New Jersey Gazette* for April 24, 1782, contains an account of Hyler's
edition "to the Narrows" with a gunboat and barge on the night of April 19–20.
first seized the sloop which he ransomed for $400, and then captured the *Alert*
r Sandy Hook, *en route* from New York to Bermuda, which he then unsuccess-
ly attempted to bring into port. A notice in the same newspaper announced that
May 4 a number of muskets, a blunderbuss, a swivel, several casks of gunpowder, a
dicine chest, two cases of surgeon's instruments, and raisins, tea, and clothing
ly captured by Hyler would be sold at Princeton. These items were probably
ne of the equipment and cargo from the *Alert*. A session of the Court of Ad-
alty was held at the courthouse at Burlington on May 22, at which, according to
announcement, a bill would be presented by Hyler, commander of the privateer
venge, against "sundry goods, wares, and merchandize" which he captured on the
rt, as well as against eleven Negroes whom he took on board the sloop. Any per-
interested in the vessel and her cargo and the Negroes were ordered to appear to
w cause why they should not be condemned to the captors and sold for the prize
ney. The *New Jersey Gazette* for May 29 contained a notice that *nine* Negroes
tured by Hyler would be sold on June 1 at John Cape's "Arms of France" at
enton. These were undoubtedly nine of the twelve men taken on the *Alert*.—*New*
sey Archives, 2d series, V, 425–26, 433, 435, 446.

Robert King, 1st Prize M.
Jn° Foster, 2d D°
Jn° Steer, 3d D°
Titus Halburt, 4th D°
Alexr Low, 5th D°
Saml Utter, B. Swain
Thos Loftus, C. Clerk
Jas Croan, M. Arms
Richd Roper, C. Steward
Thos Annelly, Steward
——— McKinan, Carpenter
Ths Allsbrook, S. M.
8 Privates

In Addition to the above there were Capt John Witham & Thos Reed of the Schooner *Charles* who accidentlly happen'd on Board of the *Alert* made prisoners also.

Am, Sir, Your Mo. Hum Servt

John Bray

His Excellcy Wm Livingston Esqr Governor &c.

Sir Guy Carleton[103] *to Governor William Livingston*

Head Quarters New York 7 May 1782

Sir

Colonel Livingston[104] will have the pleasure of placing this Letter in Your Excellency's hands. His enlargement, Sir, has been the first Act of my Command, being desirous, if War must prevail, to render its Evils as light as possible to individuals.

It would be as Difficult as it seems useless to trace from what first Injuries those Acts of Retaliation, public or private, which have lately passed, are Derived,[105] but it is highly important that the practice itself should be brought to the most speedy conclusion, without which we shall all be involved in one common Dishonor. Thus impressed, I cannot help earnestly Wishing that You may find yourself disposed to recommend this point, which Humanity so much requires to the Deliberations of your Assembly. The Acts to which I allude having passed in your Province, and I for my part shall most gladly meet you upon the Ground of any Regulation, which may take from us this Reproach, and if any reciprocal engagement should be required of me, I shall be ready to adopt any Measures which may be thought effectual to this End, fully sensible that Acts of private Passion and Resentment, tho' productive of much unnecessary Evil, contribute nothing to public and general Decisions. What I have here proposed, Sir, are the Arrangements of War, but

[103] Sir Guy Carleton (1724–1808), Commander-in-Chief of the British Army in North America, 1782–83. He was appointed to the chief command on February 23, 1782, and arrived at New York on May 5, two days prior to the date of this letter.

[104] Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Brockholst Livingston (1757–1823), son of Governor Livingston of New Jersey. In 1779 young Henry went to Spain as private secretary to his brother-in-law, John Jay, who was sent as Minister to that country. On his return voyage Livingston was captured by the British and was taken to New York, where he was imprisoned until his release on parole by Carleton.

[105] Carleton here refers to the noted Huddy case.

I shall be truly happy if any Pacification can be Obtained, which may be equally safe and Honorable to all.

I transmit herewith certain papers which will shew your Excellency the Disposition of the Government and People of England. From the facts which your Excellency will thence Collect, you may judge what further Consequences must speedily follow.

I have the Honor to be, with much respect,

Your Excellency's Most Obedient Servt

GUY CARLETON

His Excellency Governor Livingston

[*Endorsed:*] Letter from General Carleton, 7 May 1782.[106]

Governor William Livingston to Sir Guy Carleton

Trenton 13th May 1782

Sir

I find myself honoured with your Excellency's letter of the 7th instant, which notwithstanding the benevolent Sentiments it contains, & which are truly characteristic of your Excellency's humanity, was rendered still more agreeable by the bearer[107] who delivered it, & who, but for your Excellency's seasonable arrival, might have long been continued in confinement, thro' the operation of that contrary disposition by which some of your Predecessors in command, have been so remarkably distinguished.

Your Excellency informs me that "Coll° Livingston's enlargement" has been the "first act of your command," being desirous that if war must prevail, to render its "evils as light as possible." So early an advertance to prevent the exercise of any unnecessary rigour against prisoners of war, & that at a time when you must have been involved in a multiplicity of business, is the strongest proof of your aversion to that System of severity of which the Americans have long had reason to complain; and as the young Gentleman was confined immediately after a tedious voyage which rendered exercise and elbow room the more necessary on his arrival, his liberation into open air and liberty must be proportionally agreeable to him; and I am confident that he is impressed with proper sentiments of your Excellency's politeness & civility towards him. In the character of his Father, I am also happy in having him so soon given to my embraces, thro' those tender feelings for which your Excellency was celebrated before you left America. Surely every reasonable man must applaud an uniform conduct influenced by the Principles of humanity to all mankind; but respecting any particular civilities to myself or my connections, I have never wished to be any farther distinguished from my

[106] This document is one of two letters in the Livingston collection purchased by the Society by means of the Abbott-Lenox Fund, 1956. Carleton's draft of this letter is in the Carleton Papers, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.

[107] The Governor's son, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Brockholst Livingston.

fellow citizens at large, than as a generous Enemy may be able from true greatness of Soul, rather to esteem, than to pursue with implacable & dishonourable vengeance any public person for his fidelity to the cause in which he originally embarked from principles of Conscience, and in which he conceives it his duty to persevere to the end, at the risque of everything estimable among mankind.

I have the honour of entirely concurring in sentiment with your Excellency, that it is highly important that the practice of retaliating public or private injuries (or rather that the perpetration of such injuries as demand retaliation) should be brought to the most speedy conclusion. That it has arisen from any injuries offered by us, I can candidly assure you Sir, is what has never come to my knowledge. Nor do I recollect a single instance in which the Militia or any other Citizens of this State have treated a prisoner of war with inhumanity, or contrary to the Law of arms. Such conduct, I should think it my duty to the utmost of my power to discountenance; & I am most heartily disposed, to promote, to the extent of my authority, any regulation that may appear best calculated to prevent, on both sides, "all such Acts of private passion or resentment" which (as your Excellency justly observes) tho' productive "of much unnecessary evil, contribute nothing to public and general decisions." But as to any instrumentality of mine towards "obtaining any pacification" which may be "equally safe and honourable to all," for which your Excellency expresses your wishes, that is a matter altogether out of my department; and I doubt not every loyal Citizen of these United States reposes the most perfect confidence in the Wisdom and Integrity of Congress respecting the final establishment of our Independence.

Your Excellency is farther pleased to observe that you transmit me with your Letter certain papers which will show me the disposition of the Government and "people of England," and that "from the facts which I will thence collect," I may "judge what further consequences will speedily follow." These papers, Sir, do really show me that the disposition of the *people* of England is for peace; but that such is the disposition of the *Government* of England, appears to me not equally evident from a serious & impartial consideration of sundry English & New York papers containing the last intelligence from England together with the debate in parliament upon several motions respecting the American war.

I have the honour to be, with great Esteem,

your Excellencys most obedient Servant

WIL: LIVINGSTON

His Excellency General Sir Guy Carleton &c &c &c

[*Endorsed:*] Copy of a Letter from Govr Livingston to General Carleton 13 May 1782.[108]

[108] This document is one of two letters in the Livingston collection purchased by

Robert Hude[109] *to Governor William Livingston*

New Brunswick, June 4th 1782

His Excellency William Livingston Esqr Governour of the State of New Jersey—

Whereas Barrent Hartwick Late 1st Lieut under Capn Hyler is now in ssessiōn of a Small Privateer Boat Lately Taken by the Brave Capn ler— & I Do Recommend Him to your Excellency As a fit Person to e the Command of her And Shall Ever Esteem it As a Great favour if ır Excellency would Grant Him A Commission to Cruise against the emy, whose Sole object is to Cruise by Water And Not himself or is men to go On Shore. I hope Sr you Will Consider him, As he has en out with Capn Hyler All most Every Cruise he had made And by Bravery When the Enemy Was up Last winter Recd a Wound, and till Willing to Serve his Country, To face the Enemy At All Times, ich Granted will Greatly Sr Oblige

Your Humbl St

Robert Hude

ddressed:] His Excellency Governour William Livingston Esq at Trenton.
ndorsed:] Letter from Robert Hude, 4th June 1782

Captain Adam Hyler to Governor William Livingston

New Brunswick June 6th 1782

His Excellency William Livingston Esqr Govonour of the State of New Jersey—

This is to Inform Your Excellency that Barrent Hartwick Has Saild with me in most all the Cruises I Have Made And Has behaved Him- as a Soldier And As a Firm friend to his Country. Do Recommend to your Excellencys favour to Grant unto Him A Capns Commission an Armd Boat That I have Lately Taken, who I Think is Capable for

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Society by means of the Abbott-Lenox Fund, 1956. This is the draft retained by ingston. The actual letter sent to Carleton is in the Carleton Papers, Colonial lliamsburg, Virginia.

[109] Robert Hude acted in conjunction with John Bray as an agent of the New ey Court of Admiralty. His name appears with Bray's on the public notices ouncing sessions of the court in the *New Jersey Gazette*. See *New Jersey hives*, 2d series, V, 401–02, 408, 445, 450, 454.

it. His Sole Object is to Cruise by Water And Not suffer himself or His men to go on Shore for which favour Granted by your Excellency will Greatly Oblige Your Humble S^{t}

ADAM HYLER Cap^{t}

[*Addressed:*] To His Excellency Govonour William Livingston Esq^{r} at Trenton.

Captain Adam Hyler to Governor William Livingston

N. Brunswick 10th June 1782

Sir,

Reconsidering the Signing Barant Hartwyck's Recommendation is the cause of my now writing you. I was persuaded to it but do really fear he will not act In the Character I would & am sensible that you would wish. Shall not point out what I think he is capable of doing but upon the whole beg that my recommendation may be no inducement to your giving him a Commission.

Am Sir

Your Mo. Hum. Serv^{t}

ADAM HYLER

His Excell^{y} W^{m} Livingston Esq^{r}

[*Addressed:*] His Excell^{y} W^{m} Livingston Esq^{r}, Trenton.

[*Endorsed:*] Letter from Capt Hyler, 10 June 1782.

Sir Guy Carleton to Governor William Livingston

Head Quarters New York
June 12th 1782

Sir,

I have just been made acquainted, that Timothy Scoby, taken Prisoner at Sandy Hook, and William Herbert, taken also Prisoner on the Beach at the High Lands, Sandy Hook, have been tried in your Province for Treason, by a Court held at Freehold in the County of Monmouth on the first Tuesday in the present Month, and are sentenced to dye on the fourth Day of July next.[110] I have been also informed, Sir, that about

[110] The name of Timothy Scoby, of Shrewsbury in Monmouth County, appears on a list of gentlemen belonging to the Grenadier Company of American militia in New Jersey who joined the British Army in 1776. He was taken prisoner and was condemned to be hanged, but on June 25, 1782, Governor Livingston informed Sir Guy Carleton that both Scoby and Herbert had been pardoned.—E. A. Jones, "The Loyalists of New Jersey," in New Jersey Historical Society *Collections*, X (1927), 252, 304; *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington*, III (Washington: 1915), 2158.

e 22nd of January last, John Smith Hetfield, who was employed to vigate a Boat to Elizabeth Town, having Flag Orders from Brigadier eneral Skinner,[111] and bearing a Letter from Sir Henry Clinton[112] to ommissaries Skinner & Adams[113] on public Service, and who, with other man who afterwards made his Escape, were permitted to stay at izabeth Town that Night, the Weather not admitting a Return, was on e morning, without any previous discharge or order to depart, arrested d carried to Westfield, and from thence, in Irons, to Burlington, where has been ever since confined. That likewise one Abner Badgeley, who as at Elizabeth Town in another Flag Boat at the same Time, was also ken Prisoner, and that both these Men remain in that Condition, and der the Terrors of being tried for their Lives, and that one Campton is kewise confined and stands in the same Danger.[114]

[111] Brigadier-General Cortlandt Skinner (1727–1799), formerly Attorney-General New Jersey and Speaker of the Assembly. He joined the British Army in 1776 and as commissioned a Brigadier-General with instructions to raise a loyalist corps signated as the New Jersey Volunteers.

[112] Sir Henry Clinton, Carleton's predecessor as Commander-in-Chief of the itish Army in North America.

[113] Abraham Skinner and John Adam, American prison commissaries, then at izabethtown.

[114] See Captain Taylor's pass of January 22, 1782, and note 74, *ante*, for the back-ound of this episode. The British regarded the seizure of Hatfield and Badgeley adgely) as infringements on the courtesies accorded flags-of-truce, and strong forts were made to obtain the release of both men. On April 23 Brigadier-General ortlandt Skinner wrote from Staten Island to Captain Jonathan Dayton at Eliza-thtown that he was detaining an American officer, Lieutenant Edmund D. Thomas New Jersey, and threatened to turn him over to the Refugees unless Hatfield and dgeley were released—an implied threat of retaliation against Thomas after the cent Refugee execution of Captain Joshua Huddy on April 12. On May 1 Lieuten-t-General James Robertson at New York wrote to Washington and protested the just detention of the captives. Washington returned word to Robertson three days ter that he was unacquainted with the circumstances attending the arrest of dgeley and Hatfield, but the matter would be examined and justice would be done, it he also stated that "I must inform you that in my Opinion Deserters or Charac-rs who for Crimes they have committed, are Amenable to the Civil Power, cannot either Side, be protected under the Sanction of a Flag." The Chief Justice of the ate of New Jersey made a report to Governor Livingston on May 13, explaining e reasons why the civil authorities had apprehended the two men. Lorenzo Sabine, his *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, states that Badgeley was condemned to ath for treason in New Jersey on June 20, and the papers concerning his case show at he "joined the enemy long after the passing of the treason act." On June 10 Vashington wrote to Carleton and enclosed a copy of the report made by the Chief stice, and informed him that as Hatfield and Badgeley were in custody of the civil thorities of the State and were not held by the military arm it was not necessary r him to make further "observations on the subject." Carleton next wrote the letter Livingston on June 12, published herewith, and on June 20 he wrote again to Vashington in an attempt to negotiate the matter, but Washington refused to be awn into the case and reiterated that it was a civil case in which he had no jurisdic-on. See J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, XXIV (Washing-

Upon this Subject, Sir, I wish to speak the Language of that Moderation and Candor, with which, the Letter you have honored me, is marked. And yet whilst I consider that General Washington demanded, and justly demanded, from my Predecessor,[115] tho' in a manner not usual and which I cannot approve, the strictest Inquiry concerning the rash and unauthorized Execution of Huddy,[116] an Inquiry which without his Demands, a Sense of Justice wou'd have produced; and whilst he holds in Arrest, an innocent Officer on this very Account,[117] I cannot enough express my wonder, that Executions should be meditated, under any pretence, of Prisoners taken in our Service, and two of them as it appears, under the Protection of a Flag.

The Letter, Sir, with which you honored me, dated the 13th of May last, I received with the utmost Sensibility of the generous Sentiments it conveyed, and I am not without great hopes, that there is some Error or Misinformation as to the Cases I have stated. Your Excellency among other just Observations, reprobated the Idea of Vengeance against those who embark in any Cause on the Ground of Conscience, and who think it their duty to persevere in it with unceasing Fidelity. Putting all other Considerations out of the Question, and mixing as I perfectly do with your Excellency in this Sentiment, I will entertain the fullest Reliance on your taking such Measures as your own Prudence shall dictate, to place these Men out of Danger, and that you will not suffer the Forms of local Law, to violate general Principles or mingle private and mutual Revenges of any Sort, with the fair and liberal Customs of War, a State which, however it be my Profession, is, as between Britons, hateful to my Thought.

I shall expect the Honor of being informed of your Excellency's purposes on this Subject.

I am with the highest Regard

Your Excellencys Most obedient and Most humble Servant

GUY CARLETON

His Excellency Governor Livingston

[*Endorsed:*] Letter from Sir Guy Carleton, 12 June 1782.

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ton: 1938), 220–21, 227, 324, 325, 372; *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington*, III, 2096, 2103, 2144, 2152, 2158, 2194; L. Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I (Boston: 1864), 201.

[115] Sir Henry Clinton.

[116] Captain Joshua Huddy of the Monmouth County Militia, executed on April 12, 1782, by order of the Board of Associated Loyalists. See note 87, *ante*, for the details.

[117] Captain Charles Asgill of the First Regiment of Foot Guards, selected by lot to be executed by the Americans in retaliation for Huddy's death.

Lieut. Barrent Hartwick to Gov. William Livingston

New Brunswick June 13, 1782

His Excellency Govonour William Livingston Esq[r]

When I was att Trenton Last week I had your Honours Promise Of Commission And I am now Ready for Sailing & if it is Agreeable to ur Excellency I shall Take it as A Particular favour to know at What ie I should Wait upon your Excellency for it. One of Cap[n] Hylers ats Is Just Return[d] from a Cruise And has been among the Traders, taken 90 Pd Weight of Tea that Was Comeing from New York to to monmouth with Other Articles. I Long to be among them in order try to Prevent Such An Illicit Trade which is So Ruinous to our Cause. Hude[118] Expects if those Enemies to all Justice, Enemies to our Cause o the Civil Rights of Mankind & Especially to the Damage of our nk, is not timely Prevented will be to our Ruin. He Expects if they nnot Convoy their Goods from New York by Land they will Attempt y Water into the County of Mon Mouth or below the Hook.[119] I Long try the opportunity of Cething [catching] them if Possible. now Wait ur Excellency[s] Answer.

from S[r] your Excellencys Most Ob[t] Hum[l] Serv[t]

Barrent Hartwick

ddressed:] To His Excellency Govonour William Livingston Esqr at Trenton.

ndorsed:] Letter from Barrent Hartwick, 13 June 1782.

John Bray to Governor William Livingston

Raritan Landing 24[th] June 1782

At Cap[t] Hyler's request I now address you. He has got another Privar Boat which was lately Captured by Cap[t] T. Quigley & Condemn'd he Inferior Court of Admiralty.[120] She mounts Two Carriage Guns &

[118] Robert Hude.
[119] Sandy Hook.
[120] Captain Thomas Quigley of the American privateer *Lively*. At 2:00 o'clock on ursday morning, May 23, 1782, Quigley captured the British brigantine *Betsey* le anchored near Sandy Hook on her way to Halifax. The official documents ting to the capture state that Quigley was out with the *Lively* at the time. The *w Jersey Gazette* of June 12, publishing news from Philadelphia, asserts that gley and three men left Elizabethtown "in a small boat" on Wednesday evening,

four Swivels, is called the *Active*, about 14 or 15 Tonns Burthen & Navigated by Twenty Five men. Owners are the same as to the other Boat. Cap[t] Hyler is of opinion you'll be so obliging as to include by Interlineation or otherwise the aforesaid Boat in the Commission for the *Revenge* which I herewith send. If it be not agreeable to order He begs you'll favour him with a separate Commission for the same. Several Boats are fiting out from N. Brunswick for the purpose of Privateering, but I fear if your Excell[y] grants them Commissions that many ill reports will prevail against Cap[t] Hyler which he will be very innocent off. I know it's Customary for Persons obtaining Commiss[s] to give Bonds with Security for their good behaviour. I hope, as it's out of Cap[t] Hyler's power to wait on you at present, that you'll not refuse him a Commission on that Acc[t] I will be his security & Will enter into Bonds with him the first time we come to Town.

Am Your Excell[y's] most Obed[t] Hum. Serv[t]

John Bray

N.B. M[r] Gibbon will wait on your Excell[y] with this, by whom [we] hope to receive a Commission for the *Active*, otherwise she must be left in Port which would be very injurious as Cap[t] Hyler wants to Sail in a day or two.

[*Addressed:*] His Excellency William Livingston Esq[r], Trenton.
Mr. Gibbon.
[*Endorsed:*] Letter from Major Bray, 24 June 1782.

Captain Adam Hyler to Governor William Livingston

New Brunswick, 26[th] June 1782

Sir

M[r] Bray[121] will wait on your Excell[y], accompanied by my first Lieu[t] M[r] John Bordewine. Am under the necessity of going out this day with

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May 22, landed on Staten Island, carried their boat nearly four miles across the island and relaunched it in lower New York harbor, and moved against the *Betsey* which they captured with three people on board within sight of a 20-gun British ship and a British fort on the island. Quigley cut the *Betsey's* cable and sailed her down the Jersey coast into Little Egg Harbor, with a cargo of tobacco, salt, pepper, coffee, mustard, ceramics, and other articles—a prize said to be worth nearly £4,000. The *New Jersey Gazette* of June 5 printed a notice that a Court of Admiralty would be held at Burlington on June 25 to try Quigley's bill against the *Betsey*. Any person interested in the case was ordered to appear to show cause why the vessel and her cargo should not be condemned and sold for prize money pursuant to the petition of the libellant.—*New Jersey Archives*, 2d series, V, 446, 449, 453.

[121] John Bray.

y old Gun Boat. Shall leave the one I last got behind for my Lieu[t] to llow me with. I dare not take her out without a Commission to accom- sh which have with difficulty (on Acc[t] of the busy season of the year) evailed on M[r] Bray to procure a Commission for the Boat *Active*. He ll be my security & if necessary M[r] Bordewine will as L[t] with M[r] Bray gn a Bond for the due adherence to the Commission, which said Bond ereby promise to execute on my part directly upon my return. I rnestly intreat your Excell[y] to grant my request. M[r] Bray will pay for e Commission. Am Your Excellencies Mo. Obed[t] Hum. Serv[t]

Adam Hyler

is Excell[y] W[m] Livingston

ddressed:] His Excell[y] Will[m] Livingston Esq[r], Trenton. M[r] Bray
ndorsed:] Letter from Capt Hyler, 26 June 1782.

Isaac Pumell to Governor William Livingston

Philadelphia July 7[th] 1782

spectable Sir

Inclosed I send you all the necessary papers for the tryal of the State enders, which would have done before this but being a Considerable stance from Maryland it has been out of my power. The Gentlemen e uncertain whether the Cap[t] of the *Enterprise* is named Tho[s] Elijah or at else besides Hand. I shall be very Glad to know of you, if after the arge is fixed it is incompatible to the polici of your State, to throw a tition into the Assembly for the relief of grievances by s[d] offenders thout being [put to] the Necessity of travelling through the tedious eanders of a suit at Law. From your Hum[bl] Serv[t]

Isaac Pumell

B. I live in front Street, Corner house, Black horse Alley, at M[r] Hum- reys Conveyancer[122]

ovenor Livinston

ddressed:] Hon[bl] Govenor Livinston, Trent Town, Jersey
ndorsed:] Letter from Mr. Pummell, 7 July 1782, with Complaint & affidavits against Cap[t] Hand.[123]

[122] The *Philadelphia Directory* for 1785 lists Ashton Humphrey, notary public, on nt Street, between Market and Arch Streets. This was probably the same man o was mentioned in Pumell's letter.

[123] W. S. Stryker, in his *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in Revolutionary War* (Trenton: 1872), 871, lists a Captain Hand of the armed boat

Sir Guy Carleton to Governor William Livingston

New York July 21st 1782

Sir,

I am just informed that Ezekial Tilton, returning last Week from the Banks without Sandy Hook, where he had been fishing, was taken by an Armed Whale Boat belonging to the Province of New Jersey, and carried to Monmouth Gaol where he was confined loaded with Irons and suffering Hardships which greatly endanger his Life, that he is considered to be in the Condition of what is called in Jersey a State Prisoner, and threatned as such with more certain Death.

I hereby demand, Sir, that this Man shall be placed in the Condition of a Prisoner of War only, and treated with that Lenity with which Prisoners of War ought to be treated.[124]

I have already written to your Excellency on a simular Occasion, and am now to acknowledge your Letter of the 25th of June 1782. From all Comment on this Letter, however extraordinary it appears, I will at present abstain. After all, I cannot think your Excellency means deliberately to violate the Laws of War, nor excite a Spirit of Resentment in the Minds of the Loyalists and provoke them to acts of Revenge, which, arrived at a certain Height, will no longer remain in your Power, nor mine, to prevent, and this at a Time when all Hostilities stand suspended on my part.

I am, Sir,

Your Excellency's Most obedient and Most humble Servant

GUY CARLETON

His Excellency Governor Livingston

[*Endorsed:*] Letter from General Carleton, 21 July 1782.

Enterprise, but he does not cite his Christian name. See Jesse Hand's letters to Livingston of March 24 and April 8, 1782, *ante*, for mention of Captain Elijah Hand of the Cape May Militia, formerly of Cumberland County, who was authorized to do duty both on land and water.

[124] This was Ezekiel Tilton, a New Jersey loyalist from Middletown. Livingston sent his reply to Carleton on August 10 with respect to the Tilton case. He discussed the status of the New Jersey loyalists who joined the enemy after the establishment of the Legislature in 1776, and refused to consider Tilton a prisoner of war. As he had done with the captive loyalists Hatfield and Badgeley, Carleton also complained to Washington about Tilton's status on August 29, but Washington, as he had also done previously, refused to be drawn into a discussion of what he considered was a civil matter of the State of New Jersey.—J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, XXV, 137; *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington*, III, 2191, 2213; E. A. Jones, "The Loyalists of New Jersey," in New Jersey Historical Society *Collections*, X, 310.

Captain Prentice Bowen[125] *to Governor William Livingston*

Orange Town[126] 22d of July

nclosed is a Letter received by Major Troop[127] with a flag from the
of New York for your Excellency from Sir Guy Carilton. I have
varded it on by Express from this post to Capt Ward at Hackensack[128]
e delivered to your Exceleny.

I am with poper Respect

Your Most Obedt Servt.

Prentice Bowwen C[apt]
New York Levies

Excellenlly Governor Livingston, New Jersey
ldressed:] His Excelency Governor Livingston, New Jersey
ndorsed:] Letter from Capt Bowen, 22d July 1782.

WASHINGTON AND CAPTAIN JOSHUA HUDDY

'The most wanton, unprecedented and inhuman Murder that
r disgraced the Arms of a civilized people." In these bitter
rds did Washington describe to Sir Henry Clinton the hang-
of Captain Joshua Huddy by a band of Associated Loyalists
der command of Captain Richard Lippincott. Two days after
uddy's execution on April 12, 1782, over four hundred out-
ed Monmouth County inhabitants petitioned Washington
t he, in retaliation, hang a British officer of equal rank. This
ition was carried to the American Commander-in-Chief by
gadier-General David Forman of Monmouth County. Riding
rth towards Washington's headquarters at Newburgh in the
te of New York, Forman stopped at Elizabethtown where
met and conferred with Major-General Henry Knox and

[125] Captain Prentice Bowen, New York Levies.
[126] Orangetown, Rockland County, N.Y., more familiarly known as Tappan.
[127] Major Josiah Throop, New York Levies.
[128] Hackensack, Bergen County, N.J.

Gouverneur Morris, who were then in Elizabethtown in an official capacity as American exchange commissioners appointed to arrange a cartel with the British for the exchange of prisoners and negotiate other matters relating to the captives held by the opposing armies.

On April 16th Knox and Morris wrote to Washington with regard to their negotiations, and in their letter they sent to the American commander the first information he was to receive on Huddy's execution. This dispatch they entrusted to Forman, and he continued his journey and finally drew halt at Washington's quarters in the stone house of Colonel Jonathan Hasbrouck on the hilltop overlooking the broad waters of Newburgh Bay.

Having gone through the details with Forman and examined sundry affidavits on Huddy's death which the Jersey officer brought from Monmouth, Washington convened a council of officers on April 19th, which unanimously agreed to retaliate unless Lippincott was surrendered to the Americans, the victim to be selected by lot from among the British officers in American custody. On April 20th Washington transmitted the papers relative to the Huddy affair to the Continental Congress, and he notified the President of his intention to retaliate. Washington also notified Sir Henry Clinton of the decision of his council and demanded that Lippincott be given up, but in his reply of April 25th Clinton refused, saying that he had ordered Lippincott to stand trial by court-martial which would investigate the circumstances of Huddy's death. With that, there was set in motion the train of circumstances which resulted in the selection of Captain Charles Asgill of the First Regiment of Foot Guards as the unfortunate victim who was to die in retaliation for Huddy's brutal demise.[129]

Since his generous gift of twenty of the twenty-two letters here published from the Livingston papers, Mr. Carl Otto von Kienbusch presented another fine document to the Society per-

[129] For the background and other details of the Huddy-Asgill case see note 87, *ante*

ing to the events of 1782 on the New Jersey coast. This letter Washington's reply to Major-General Knox and Gouverneur rris, in answer to their message of April 16th with word of ddy's death. John C. Fitzpatrick published the document in *Writings of George Washington* from the draft retained at adquarters, but here is the actual letter which Knox, the llery general, and Morris, the wooden-legged politician, re-ved from the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army:

Head Quarters Newburgh

April 20th 1782

ntlemen

have been favored with your Letter of the 16th of April by General man.

Convinced, from the state of facts which has been exhibited to me, t justice, expediency & necessity require satisfaction should be ob-ed for the Murder of Captain Huddy, I have in the first instance made presentation to Sir Henry Clinton & demanded that the Officer who mmanded the Party, or if he was not a Captain, such a number of the nts in the execution as are equal by Tariff to that rank, should be vered up to condign punishment. In case of refusal I have formed the olution that Retaliation shall take place upon a British Officer of equal nk. It therefore remains with the Enemy alone to prevent this distress-alternative; for having[130] formed my opinion upon the most mature ection and deliberation, I can never recede from it.

I have the honor to be

Gentlemen

Your Most Obedt Servant

Gº Washington

e Honble Majr Gen Knox &
Morris Esqr
ndorsed:] 20 April 1782. Genl Washington Commn

[130] At this point the draft retained at Headquarters has the following crossed out: nfirmed my own Opinion with the concurring sentiments of all the General cers, Commandg. Officers of Brigades and Corps, I can never recede from it."—. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, XXIV (1938), 138, note 2.

THE MILITARY ASSOCIATION OF THE SONS OF LIBERTY

by Roger Champagne

History Department, University of Wisconsin Extension Division

THE SONS of Liberty of the Stamp Act crisis occupy a unique position in the history of the American Revolution. While colonial legislatures quietly channeled their disapproval of Parliamentary encroachments into the writing of petitions, this set of men was galvanized into overt action against the Stamp Act. Such action took a variety of forms in as many places; but despite apparent differences, a common characteristic can be seen in all: the threat of or the use of coercion to prevent the introduction of the hated Stamp Act. In the case of Andrew Oliver of Boston, violent destruction was felt necessary to dissuade that gentleman from fulfilling the duties of chief stamp distributor for Massachusetts. But in Connecticut, the mere presence of a large number of grimly determined men was enough to cause Jared Ingersoll to beat a hasty retreat into a temporary private life. It is not my purpose to give a detailed account of these "demonstrations." Rather, I shall confine myself to what followed those demonstrations: namely, the development of a loose, inter-colonial, military association of the Sons of Liberty, initiated by the group in New York City, in early 1766.[1]

BRITISH REVENUE STAMP 1765

The New-York Historical Society

[1] Other treatments of this inter-colonial association of the Sons of Liberty have

t was Colonel Isaac Barré who provided the name, Sons of erty, for the radical group opposing the Stamp Act. In a ech before the House of Commons, Barré answered the argu- nt that the people living in the American colonies were mere- he offspring of the mother country and therefore liable to any l all regulations she saw fit to impose upon them. In essence, ré claimed that the American colonists were a separate ple, defending a distant frontier of the British Empire; a noble of men, true "Sons of Liberty." The speech was heard by ed Ingersoll, a special agent in England for the Connecticut sembly on an entirely different matter, who reported it to vernor Thomas Fitch.[2] As the opposition to the Stamp Act w in America, the name Sons of Liberty was taken up by se who opposed the Act to distinguish themselves from those o were either neutral in the matter, or in favor of it. By the of 1765, the name was in common use. However, it was not il late 1765 and early 1766 that the term Sons of Liberty had formal organizational meaning. For example, the men in w York City who were referred to as Sons of Liberty at the rchants' meeting of October 31, 1765, did not formally and nly organize as such until January 7, 1766.[3]

One reason for the initial lack of inter-colonial association

er overlooked the military aspects of the association, and the need for it, or have looked the part played by the New York City group in initiating the movement nter-colonial unity. See Carl L. Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the ince of New York 1760–1776* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, History es, vol. 2, no. 1; Madison: 1909), 45–48; Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the rican Revolution 1763–1783* (Chapel Hill: 1941), 69–73; Edmund S. and Helen Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis* (Chapel Hill: 1953), 200–203.

Jared Ingersoll to Thomas Fitch, London, February 11, 1765. F. B. Dexter, ed., e Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Jared Ingersoll," New Haven ny Historical Society *Papers* (New Haven: 1918), IX, 311.

Becker, *Political Parties in New York*, 43. A major problem is encountered once groups of Sons of Liberty formally organize: What was their membership, how y attended meetings, who were the leaders? Unfortunately, such information is ty. In almost every case, newspapers simply reported that a meeting of the Sons iberty was "attended by a large number of the principal inhabitants." However, s reported in the May 12, 1766, issue of the *New York Mercury* that about one sand attended the meeting on April 1, 1766, at the courthouse in Sussex County, Jersey. On pages 3–4 in Isaac Q. Leake's *Memoir of the Life and Times of eral John Lamb* (Albany: 1850), a listing of some Sons of Liberty is given for York, Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland.

among the Sons of Liberty was, perhaps, the success of local opposition to the Stamp Act without such association. Local Sons of Liberty did not need formal organizations to force reluctant Stamp Officers to resign their positions. The various attempts to get colonial courts and other public offices to function without the use of stamps were also local matters not requiring organization. In all this early opposition to the Stamp Act, local groups of Sons of Liberty felt compelled to seek outside assistance only on rare occasions. To be sure, the radical spirits of Boston, New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore knew about each other and, in some cases, carried on a correspondence.[4] When, however, fear of punishment for the many riots impelled the Sons of Liberty to seek an effective means of self-protection as well as less vulnerable means of opposition to Stamp Act enforcement, association became necessary.

The desire for an inter-colonial organization grew out of the radical opposition to the Stamp Act in New York City. The day after the merchants adopted a non-importation agreement, New York became the scene of intense rioting. The storm center was Fort George, headquarters of General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British land forces in North America. Weeks before the riot occured, work had been under way to strengthen the Fort, largely at the insistence of Lieutenant-Governor Colden, who, anticipating trouble, wanted a safe refuge for the stamps when they arrived. Particular resentment was shown toward Major James because of his work in carrying out Colden's orders to strengthen the Fort. A mob assembled at the entrance of the Fort, seized the Lieutenant-Governor's coach and other equipment, and burned them; it was even claimed that 300 carpenters were in the mob, ready to dismantle the great door of the Fort if the people should be fired upon by the soldiers within. Miraculously, a clash between the mob and the troops was avoided. For the remainder of the evening, the mob contented itself by ringing the bells of all the churches in the city and by sacking Major

[4] See footnotes, Becker, *Political Parties in New York*, 45–48.

ies's house, even threatening if he were found to bury him ie.[5]

t soon developed that many in the city, undoubtedly includ- the Sons of Liberty, wanted the stamps in their possession ier than in Fort George where they had been placed immedi- y upon their arrival in October.[6] Rumors circulated that the b planned to stage a demonstration against the Roman Pope the Stuart Pretender as a cover-up for an attack on the Fort ne stamps were not delivered to the people.[7] However, force ved unnecessary to obtain the surrender of the stamps; this s accomplished by negotiations between the Lieutenant- vernor and the City magistrates, with the advice of Colden's uncil and of General Gage.[8] On November 5, 1765, five thou- d people escorted seven boxes of stamps to the City Hall ere they were deposited in the care of the City officials for keeping.[9] This was to be the only example of an official sur- der of the stamps to the demands of a local populace, includ- the Sons of Liberty; and Secretary of State Conway severely rimanded Colden for his further weakening of the authority l effectiveness of government when he publicly declared that would do nothing respecting the Stamp Act until Sir Henry ore, the new Governor, had arrived.[10]

The Sons of Liberty in New York City, then, had every rea- to fear that they might be punished by the Crown for their ivities in opposing the introduction of the Stamp Act. This is to say that other places were less liable to feel the weight of hority, for serious riots occured in many cities throughout the

"The Montressor Journal," New-York Historical Society *Collections for 1881* w York: 1881), 337 (November 1, 1765).
See notice that had been posted at the Merchants' Coffee House on Wednesday, ember 6, 1765. in "Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden," New-York His- al Society *Collections for 1923* (New York: 1923), 91.
"The Montressor Journal," 338 (November 5, 1765).
"Colden Papers," New-York Historical Society *Collections for 1923*, 61–70; ry B. Dawson, "The Sons of Liberty in New York," New-York Historical ety *Discourses* (New York: 1859), 102n.
"The Montressor Journal," 338 (November 5, 1765).
"Colden Papers," New-York Historical Society *Collections for 1923*, 96–97.

THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR declares he will do nothing in Relation to the STAMPS, but leave it to Sir HENRY MOORE, to do as he pleaſes, on his Arrival. Council Chamber, New-York, Nov. 2, 1765.

By Order of his Honour,
Gw. Banyar, D. Cl. Con.

The Governor acquainted Judge *Livingſton*, the Mayor, Mr. *Beverly Robinſon*, and Mr. *John Stevens*, this Morning, being Monday the 4th of November, that he would not iſſue, nor ſuffer to be iſſued, any of the STAMPS now in Fort-George.

Robert R. Livingſton.
John Cruger,
Beverly Robinſon,
John Stevens.

The Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of this City, being ſatisfied that the STAMPS are not to be iſſued, are determined to keep the Peace of the City, at all Events, except they ſhould have other Cauſe of Complaint.

BROADSIDE [NEW YORK: PRINTED BY WILLIAM WEYMAN, 1765]

The New-York Historical Society

lonies. But if any group of men in any city had damaged and akened civil authority more than others, certainly it was the ns of Liberty in New York City.

The threatening possibility of retaliatory force was known to Sons of Liberty through the publication in colonial news- ers of a circular letter from Secretary of State Conway to all colonial governors: ". . . having taken every step which the nost prudence and lenity can dictate in compassion to the fol- and ignorance of some misguided people," Conway's instruc- ns read, "you will not . . . fail to use your utmost power for elling all acts of outrage and violence, and to provide for the intenance of peace and good order in the province by such a ely exertion of force, as that occasion may require; for which rpose you will make the proper application to General Gage l Lord Colvil. . . ." Conway concluded his circular letter by tifying the use of coercion to maintain the dignity of the own and the authority of Parliament against "Force and vio- ce, and . . . an avowed contempt of all order, duty, and de- m."[11] As further evidence of the firm intentions of the British nistry, the newspapers also printed accounts of the military forcement of the Stamp Act in Jamaica, Grenada, Barbados, tigua, Canada, and Nova Scotia; and one reader warned the nter that ". . . by the same Means it [the Stamp Act] may be forced upon all America. . . ."[12]

t is not surprising then, that those Sons of Liberty who had n very active in fomenting opposition to the Stamp Act, es- cially those of New York City, should desire an organization ich would afford them some protection, as well as prevent any empted enforcement of the Act. In December of 1765, Ger- m Mott and Hugh Hughes, Sons of Liberty in New York y, journeyed to New London, Connecticut, with a letter m Isaac Sears asking that the people of Connecticut come to aid of New York in the event troops arrived to enforce the

[11] *Boston Evening-Post*, February 3, 1766.
[12] *Boston Gazette*, January 13, 1766.

Stamp Act. The New London meeting produced some resolutions, after which the New York representatives continued on to Norwich. Following the visit to Norwich, Mott and Hughes returned to New London, and then home.[13]

The Mott-Hughes mission to Connecticut was very successful. On December 25, 1765, a military association between the Connecticut and New York Sons of Liberty was signed. Both groups reciprocally resolved and determined to march with the utmost dispatch, at their own cost and expense, on the first proper notice (which had to be signified to by at least six Sons of Liberty from either group), with their whole force if required "... to the relief of those that shall, are, or may be in danger from the *stamp act*, or its promoters and abettors, or any thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been done in opposition to its obtaining. . . ." Also, a watchful eye was to be kept on those persons who might try to introduce the Stamp Act. The signatories pledged themselves to defend liberty of the press, and all those who carried on business without stamps. "And finally, that they will, to the utmost of their power, endeavor to bring about, accomplish, and perfect the like salutary purposes and no other.'"[14] Connecticut was selected for this initial association with apparently good reason. It was rumored, and presumably believed, that Connecticut could raise ten thousand armed men immediately upon notification.[15]

Following the signing of this military association, copies were sent to the several groups of Sons of Liberty in New York and Connecticut and in the neighboring colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. The reaction of the various groups is in part indicated by their resolutions.

As was to be expected, the New York City Sons of Liberty approved the work of their two representatives. On January 7,

[13] "Fitch Papers," Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* (Hartford: 1920, XVIII), II, 384–386.

[14] William Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment, of the Independence of the United States of America* (4 vols.; London: 1788), I, 195–198.

[15] "The Montressor Journal," 355 (March 24, 1766).

66, they resolved to "... go to the last extremity, and venture r lives and fortunes effectually to prevent the said Stamp Act r taking place in this City and province."[16] This was rein- rced on February 18, 1766, by the pledge that they would be dy to "... the utmost of our power, to assist our fellow sub- ts in the neighbouring provinces, to repel every attempt that y be made to subvert or endanger the liberties of America."[17] ie Sons of Liberty of Oyster Bay, New York, writing to their others in New York City of a resolution passed February 22, 66, stated "... that the measures which you have taken, and the eral noble efforts which you have made, in vindication of the neral cause of liberty, we do heartily approve of, and that with r lives and fortunes, we stand ready to assist you in the same."[18] n February 24th, the inhabitants of Huntington, New York, pointed a committee to correspond with the Sons of Liberty of ew York City, Connecticut, or elsewhere, as the occasion de- anded.[19]

The Sons of Liberty in Connecticut also approved the work of eir leaders. The Wallingford Sons of Liberty, on January 13, 76 resolved that they would oppose the Stamp Act "... to the t extremity, even to take the field."[20] At Preston, the Sons of berty proclaimed that they would do all in their power "... to gment the present happy union now subsisting between the merican provinces. ..."[21] A meeting at Canterbury on March 1766, created a committee to correspond with the Sons of Lib- ty of the neighboring provinces.[22] Two days later at Stratford e Sons of Liberty recommended a firm and lasting union nong all similar groups throughout the continent, and pledged eir lives and fortunes to prevent the Stamp Act from being

[16] *Virginia Gazette*, March 7, 1766.
[17] *New York Mercury*, February 24, 1766.
[18] *Newport Mercury*, March 24, 1766.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Connecticut Courant*, February 3, 1766.
[21] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 13, 1766.
[22] *Connecticut Courant*, March 24, 1766.

introduced in Connecticut.[23] At a general meeting of delegations of Sons of Liberty from many Connecticut towns held at Hartford on March 25, 1766, it was declared that the union and harmony established among the Sons of Liberty in the colonies should be perpetuated; and a committee of correspondence was appointed to effect that end.[24]

The New York Sons of Liberty sent letters into New Jersey asking the approval of the groups there. The first to act were the New-Brunswick Sons of Liberty. On February 25, 1766, they resolved to be ". . . ready with hearts and hands, to assist the neighboring provinces, in opposing every attempt . . . to deprive them and us, of those privileges and immunities, which God and nature seem to have intended us."[25] On the suggestion of the New York group, the patriotic sons of Woodbridge proposed that a general convention of New Jersey Sons of Liberty be held to advance the projected union of all the provinces on the Continent.[26] Following their military exercises, the militiamen of Springfield became Sons of Liberty and determined to be ready at the shortest notice to assist the Sons of the neighboring provinces in opposing the Stamp Act; later they drank a toast to an ample supply of arms and ammunition for the Sons of Liberty everywhere.[27] Groups at Piscataway (March 11),[28] Amwell (March 18),[29] Sussex County (April 1),[30] Freehold (April 2),[31] Upper Freehold (April 28),[32] agreed to hold themselves in readiness to assist the other provinces in opposing the Stamp Act, and approved of the union and harmony among the Sons of Liberty everywhere.

The Sons of Liberty in the two major towns of Rhode Island

[23] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 3, 1766.
[24] Jedidiah Morse, *The Annals of the American Revolution* (Hartford: 1824), 129
[25] *Newport Mercury*, March 17, 1766.
[26] *Ibid.*, March 24, 1766.
[27] *New York Mercury*, April 21, 1766.
[28] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 3, 1766.
[29] *Ibid.*, March 27, 1766.
[30] *New York Mercury*, May 12, 1766.
[31] *Ibid.*, April 14, 1766.
[32] *Ibid.*, May 12, 1766.

) reacted favorably to the overtures of the men in New York
y. On March 15th, the Providence Sons of Liberty held a
eting and approved the plan of union of all the colonies, with
ers of assistance to any group that might need it. A committee
correspondence was appointed to further this end. The Provi-
nce group also pledged their lives and fortunes to prevent the
mp Act from taking effect.[33] The Sons of Liberty of New-
rt, at a meeting on April 2d, resolved that it was their ". . . in-
spensible Duty . . . [to] . . . unite with the Sons of Liberty
ough out America in every reasonable Measure, to prevent
: Execution . . ." of the Stamp Act.[34]

Firm resolution to resist the enforcement of the Stamp Act
s not lacking in either Massachusetts or New Hampshire. The
ston Sons of Liberty, upon receipt of a letter from New York,
t a circular to the towns of the colony asking for concurrence
the military association of December 25th.[35] Most of the Mas-
husetts towns followed the lead of Boston, and gave approv-
[36] The Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Sons of Liberty also
ceived a letter from New York City. At a meeting on February
, Portmouth and some neighboring towns gave approval to
e association.[37]

The New York City Sons of Liberty sent letters and personal
presentatives to Philadelphia, seeking the support of that city's
oup, but, because of public apathy there, they were unable to
complish anything.[38] However, results were obtained in Mary-
d, where groups of Sons of Liberty in Cecil County and in
ltimore resolved to join the union throughout the continent.[39]
e Baltimore group was also requested to forward copies of the
litary association to the Southern colonies with the greatest

[33] *New York Mercury*, March 31, 1766.
[34] *Ibid.*, April 7, 1766.
[35] Gordon, *History*, I, 198; Charles F. Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* vols.; Boston: 1850–1856), II, 183–184.
[36] Gordon, *History*, I, 199.
[37] *Newport Mercury*, March 3, 1766.
[38] Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 202, note 72.
[39] *Maryland Gazette*, March 20, 1766.

dispatch so that they might also give concurrence.[40] But before this could be done, news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received in Maryland.[41]

Thus, by the spring of 1766 the Sons of Liberty of the neighboring colonies had allied themselves militarily with the group in New York City. Emissaries had journeyed from New York City, and letters had been sent, to get like-minded men in the other colonies to join this military association of Sons of Liberty; by May, 1766, Sons of Liberty groups in New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Maryland had done so. And plans were being made to bring the Southern colonies into the association when news of the repeal of the Stamp Act reached America.

At this point the steadily growing association collapsed; the repeal of the Stamp Act removed the supposed need for a military association to protect American liberties. Certainly the fact that the association did collapse so easily suggests that the alliance between the various groups of Sons of Liberty rested more on agreement in sentiment than on any binding agreement of association. Perhaps a good indication of this fact can be seen in the resolutions which the various groups passed after the repeal of the Stamp Act: instead of declaring themselves in favor of union, the Sons of Liberty now praised and thanked each other and the British Ministry for the repeal of the oppressive act.[42]

Celebrations over repeal of the Stamp Act were as fervid as the first demonstrations against it. However, some men were sorry to see the "union" collapse, and recommended that efforts be made for its continuation. The Reverend Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, in a letter to James Otis, urged that the experience gained during the period of opposition to the Stamp Act be taken advantage of by "... cultivating a good understanding and hearty friendship between these colonies. . . ." "Would it not be proper

[40] Isaac Q. Leake, *Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb* (Albany: 1850), 19.

[41] *Ibid.*, 27.

[42] See *Newport Mercury*, May 22, 1766, for one example.

ENGRAVING [NEW YORK: 1766] CELEBRATING THE STAMP ACT REPEAL

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and decorous," he asked, "for our assembly to send circulars t all the rest, on the late repeal of the stamp act, and the preser favorable aspect of Affairs, Letters conceived at once in terms c friendship and regard, of loyalty to the king, filial affection tc wards the parent country, and expressing a desire to cement an perpetuate union among ourselves, by all laudable methods. A good foundation for this measure has been already laid by th late [Stamp Act] congress [of October, 1765] in New-York which, in my poor opinion, was a wise measure, and contribute not a little towards our obtaining lately a redress of grievance Pursuing this course, or never losing sight of it, may be of th greatest importance to the colonies, perhaps the only means c perpetuating their liberties."[43] Mayhew died shortly after th letter was written so there is no indication of how James Ot felt about the suggestion.

Sam Adams, however, agreed wholeheartedly with the sent ments of Mayhew. In December of 1766, in a letter introducin himself to Christopher Gadsden of Charleston, South Carolin he said that the fate of the Colonies during the Stamp Act perio was saved by a timely union of all. Adams thought the friend ships and connections established then would deter in the futur "... the most virulent Enemy from making another open attemp upon their rights as Men & Subjects." Despite this, he wishe that a union and correspondence among the merchants in all th Colonies could have continued.[44] The suggestions of Mayhe and Adams came at the wrong time. Instead of looking upo Parliament with suspicion, the people were rejoicing and toas ing the redress of a grievance. True, in some localities the sim mering pot of discontent continued to boil; but in general, th people went about their usual business, which did not includ demonstrating against measures of the British Parliament or Min istry.

[43] Jonathan Mayhew to James Otis, June 8, 1766. Alden Bradford, *Memoir of th Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D.* (Boston: 1838), 428–430.

[44] Sam Adams to Christopher Gadsden, December 11, 1766. Harry A. Cushing, e *The Writings of Samuel Adams* (4 vols.; Boston: 1904–1908), I, 108–111.

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF JOHN FERGUSON WEIR (1841–1926)

Edited by THEODORE SIZER

II

THE TENTH STREET STUDIOS

IN NEW YORK CITY DURING THE 1860's

N 1861 I rented a studio in New York, in a building the first of its kind erected in that city, planned exclusively for the accommodation of artists and known as the Tenth Street Studios.[1] ere was then a notable gathering of artists in the place, mostly nters, with two or three sculptors and a couple of architects; gether some forty, or more; most of them were men of established reputation and not a few stood in the front rank of the fession as landscape-painters.

The studio I was to occupy, the only one then available, was ured for me by Mr. Sanford Gifford,[2] an artist whom I had some time before at West Point, where he with his friend . Jervis McEntee[3] had stopped one summer's day to call upon father, in whose absence I had "done the honors" of the dio; it was two years later when I presumed upon this slight uaintance to inquire about getting a studio in the above-mened building, where they both were tenants.

Late in December I went to the city to take possession, finding few belongings piled in the room where the expressman had pped them a few weeks before. By contrast with the studio I left at West Point the place looked rather dismal with its bare

[1] At 51 West 10th Street; designed by Richard Morris Hunt (1827–1895); razed 56. Hunt established himself in New York about 1857.
[2] Sanford Robinson Gifford (1823–1880), landscape painter; like Weir, a former ber of the 7th (New York) Regiment during the Civil War.
[3] Jervis McEntee (1828–1891), landscape painter.

walls, its sky-light high aloft, and an empty grate with the temperature of the room anything but mild for immediate occupancy. This sudden transplanting of the hopes of youth to the conditions of an isolated stranger in a large city threw me back upon myself until I could find my bearings. I had for a few years past practiced the belief that independence meant fundamentally self-support, and as a continuance of that practice I regarded this plunge into the metropolis as more than an interesting adventure; it meant for me the burning of one's bridges connecting with the past, something to be pushed to a finish in winning a place in the profession. Some such thought flashed through my mind as I began to unpack my things, setting up an easel and unwrapping a roll of studies; I seemed cheered by the mere handling of familiar objects and began to grasp the situation with the stamina it required. Not to go into further particulars of that initial experience, what I have said will serve to place me in my new environment which for nearly a decade was to be closely associated with the recollections that follow. . . .

It was soon after I had begun to get busy in my new place that I had an unexpected and indeed somewhat surprising visit one morning. There was a noticeable sound of heavy footsteps ascending the two-storied stairway leading to my floor, on gaining which deep-toned voices seemed to be in consultation followed by a loud knock upon my door. On opening this, there stood General Winfield Scott, with another tall person beside him. The General on entering, when he had regained his breath, introduced his companion as "Mr. Stuart";[4] he then went on to say that while breakfasting he had seen it mentioned in *The Herald* that a son of his old friend at West Point had taken a studio in the City, and ordering his carriage he had driven around for Mr. Stuart to accompany him in making this early call—or words to that effect. The General had retired as Commander in Chief of the Army and was then living in Fourteenth Street near Fifth Avenue; while Mr. Robert L. Stuart, the sugar-merchant,

[4] Robert Leighton Stuart (1806–1882), sugar refiner, philanthropist, brother of Alexander Stuart; partnership known as R. L. & A. Stuart.

THE TENTH STREET STUDIOS, NEW YORK CITY
45–53 [21–15 in Weir's day] West Tenth Street
Photograph, 1906, in the T. J. Burton Collection
The New-York Historical Society

living on the Avenue at Twentieth Street. I was not then as able as I am now of realizing the full significance of the neral's visit in the light of all the circumstances: his advanced and infirmities from wounds, his friendship for my father, desire to give me a lift, and finally the strategy of his man-er in bringing the rich merchant to my studio in his carriage ffect the purpose he had in mind. I discerned the motive from moment of his entrance, and it gives me pleasure to acknowl-e it as a purely gratuitous act of kindness which carried dis-

tinction; not the least important feature of which lay in the fact that after looking over my studies the visit resulted in my receiving from Mr. Stuart a commission, the proceeds of which carried me through the first winter of my new experience. That painting is now in the Public Library;[5] it has recently been engraved for some art publication without my knowledge or consent and is therein attributed to my father. It may be of interest to add in this connection, as indicating changed conditions in the metropolis, that the business house of the sugar-merchants Robert L. and Alexander Stuart was in Chambers' Street corner of Hudson, in what was formerly the old family mansion where the retail business originated. Part of this house—a suite of old-fashioned wainscotted rooms with colonial mantels—was then still occupied as a residence by "Alex" Stuart, the bachelor brother of the firm, who now and then gave very agreeable dinners there; I recall an occasion when General Scott was present, with other distinguished guests.

It is time that I made reference to some of the occupants of the Tenth Street Studios when I became a tenant in that place. I had a proper excuse for calling promptly on Mr. Gifford and Mr. McEntee, but I felt a certain shyness in seeking the acquaintance of others whom I knew only by reputation; for they were busy men and most of them were in their studios only during working hours. The fact is I was much younger than most of them, and even of those who afterward became my very intimate friends I may say that Time long since thrust in his sickle and left me with but these memories. Frederick E. Church was then perhaps of widest reputation, though Bierstadt was soon to follow as a close second.[6] Church's "Niagara Falls" of a few years previous had given him great prominence, and justly so, for it was a wonderful painting. This was followed by a series of important landscapes of widely different themes and localities: "The Heart of the Andes," "The Andes of Equador," "The Acropolis," "Da-

[5] "View of the Highlands from West Point," 1862, on permanent loan from the New York Public Library to the NYHS.

[6] Frederick Edwin Church (1826–1900), landscape painter; Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902), landscape painter.

:us," "Cotopaxi," "Chimborazo," "The Arctic Aurora," Mr. Church went far afield for his themes and sometimes ht striking effects of scientific as well as pictorial interest. had gone to the City as a boy to see "The Heart of the les" on the last day of its exhibition in the Gallery of the th Street Studios, for it was to be taken to England to be en-ed and was to be placed on the vessel that evening at the st. I was told by the doorkeeper that the paying attendance hat day was more than six thousand visitors. It seemed to me approached the Studios at noon that the stream of visitors hed nearly from Sixth Avenue to Broadway and I refer to it henomenal in the history of single-picture exhibitions.

s a matter of course some time elapsed before I ventured to upon Mr. Church, but an early acquaintance with his studio surreptitiously gained one morning by standing at the open r and looking in while the servant was lighting the fire, and it not without a certain awe that I stood gazing into the great emist's laboratory. Many years afterward, when visiting Churches at their beautiful summer home near Hudson with . Weir and our daughters, I told Church of this youthful ode as we sat at table after dinner; and I also reminded him of having closed the exhibition of his "Heart of the Andes" by oving the picture from the front of its peculiar frame and ing its back to the spectators—with the assistance of a boy happened to stand near. He said he "remembered something ne kind." "Well!" I replied, "*I* was that boy! and I tingled the honor of rendering you that assistance!" On recalling e earlier times one may well exclaim: O, for the days when cles were not past!

Niagara Falls," 1857, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.; "Heart of ndes," 1859, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; "The Andes of dor" or "The Mountains of Equador," 1855, probably the picture known as Andes Mountains," Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford; "The Acropolis," prob-"The Parthenon," 1871, Metropolitan Museum of Art; "Damascus," 1867, de-d in *The Art Journal*, London, XXXI (1869), 194, destroyed by fire in 1893; paxi," 1862, NYHS; "Chimborazo," 1864, Gen. Frederick Osborn, New York; Aurora Borealis," 1865, Smithsonian Institution, National Collection of Fine Washington, D. C.

Winslow Homer,[8] E. L. Henry[9] and I, were the three youngest men in the Studios. Homer was then drawing for *Harper's Weekly*, and struggling to get out of it to take up more important work. Our relations were intimate; that is, as much so as one could be really intimate with Homer, for he was of reserved manner. He went with me to West Point and enjoyed it, even to the pleasure of looking out from his bedroom window over the vegetable-garden toward the barn at sunrise: I can recall the tone of his ejaculation—"Just *look* at it!" Henry also went with me to West Point for a week-end; he was antiquarian and was interested in the old furniture of which the house was full, having a minute knowledge of such things. On returning to town at a later day I once asked Mr. Whittredge, one of the best of the landscape-painters, if he had seen little Henry lately? "Well!" he replied with a smile, "Henry may be little as to size, but I want you to know that he is big as a painter, in his way!"

One of the older painters upon whom I felt justified in making an early call was Mr. Regis Gignoux,[10] who had been my father's guest at West Point soon after his arrival in this country and I remembered the Frenchman's visit with pleasure. He painted the early Spring with some charm and a vigorous technique, especially in the apple-blossom season. When I was leaving his studio he accompanied me to the door and lifting the latch he said, humorously: "Young man, let me give the advice of an old painter: make your reputa*cion* first, and then learn how to paint afterward!"

After the second or third "winter of my discontent" as to my early work in New York, I returned to West Point the following summer to finish a canvas I had begun the year before, "An Artist's Studio"[11]—an elaborate painting of my father's study with himself in the background sitting at his table writing. I had never

[8] Winslow Homer (1836–1910), painter.
[9] Edward Lamson Henry (1841–1919), historical painter.
[10] Regis François Gignoux (1816–1882), landscape painter.
[11] Unlocated; not to be confused with a picture of a similar title, painted in 1864 and now at the Yale University Art Gallery, representing, to the right, a woman

ibited, and I purposed sending this picture to the Spring Ex-
tion at the Academy. In the meantime Mr. Gifford saw the
iting when I brought it to Town and borrowed it to exhibit
A Reception given to meet the artists of New York," at the
enaeum Club on Fifth Avenue. It seems that it attracted con-
rable attention, especially among the artists present, and the
t morning a gentleman called at my studio to ask the price of
said I had not yet thought of a price as it was not quite fin-
d, but I supposed it would be about five hundred dollars. He
the price was larger than he expected—and that seemed the
of it. In the meantime as the Spring Exhibition of 1864 was
roaching I sent the picture to the Academy. It was well hung
caused my election as an Associate. The gentleman who had
ught of buying it came again, and said he would take it.
t!" I said, "the picture has been well received and it has made
n Associate of the Academy: the price is eight hundred dol-
" He bought it promptly without further word as to the
e, and a few years later I was told he sold it for three times
sum he paid for it. I have stated these circumstances in detail
use they were of significance to me in connection with my
s and hopes at that time: the picture had sold itself, which
nt something: and my election at the Academy was a ver-
by the artists; it gave me confidence.

There was an occasional social side to the busy professional
in the Tenth Street Studios. The housekeeper was a Mrs.
ter—her name deserves mention in these chronicles; she sup-
d breakfasts for those who were lodgers in the place, and
her capable assistants was quite equal to serving elaborate
ers for those who didn't mind expense. A dinner in Mr.
ord's studio was always delightful; I remember an occasion
n his guests were Edwin Booth,[12] Bayard Taylor,[13] Jervis

g lace, a small child playing blocks on the floor, center, and an artist's easel on
treme left. The scene is dominated by a great, heavily carved Dutch cupboard,
e top of which are plaster casts, jugs, and other studio props.
Edwin Booth (1833–1893), actor.
Bayard Taylor (1825–1878), writer.

McEntee, Dr. Weir Mitchell,[14] Kensett,[15] Whittredge,[16] Launt Thompson,[17] an interesting "Mr. Cole of Baltimore"[18] and myself. There were other like occasions when the guests were equally varied and the table-talk was of the best; no lack of wit and *bon amis*, with the studio walls and the newly painted picture on the easel for a background. As I recall some of those occasions after a much wider experience they seem to have had the mark of distinction in a unique way.

I remember a dinner of somewhat humorous inspiration in the studio of Mr. Leutze: but alas! I must first explain for some of my readers who Emmanuel Leutze was—so completely has time and new activities in art snowed-under temporarily even marked reputations of the past. He was the painter of "Washington Crossing the Delaware," a large picture now in the Metropolitan Museum and of many other important historical works. In his earlier days Leutze, with the Achenbachs[19] of Düsseldorf, had been one of the leaders of that school and the inspiration of its *Mahl Cassen*—a very unique artists' club of that place which I remember to have visited on a festive occasion. With marked qualifications as a close student of history Leutze combined great technical ability with facility of execution, and on the occasion of the dinner referred to he had been painting several large decorative panels for the dining-room of a wealthy New York merchant—a bit of play for his vigorous brush. In connection with this decorative-work he had ordered from Fulton Market a quantity of game and other things, and after these had served their purpose in a few hours of rapid brush-work, Mrs. Winter had the birds plucked and made ready for the table. It was a family affair so to speak, that is to say the guests comprised occupants of the Studios. When the spirit of the occasion was at its height

[14] Silas Weir Mitchell (1829–1914), medical writer, poet, novelist.

[15] John Frederick Kensett (1816–1872), landscape painter.

[16] Worthington Whittredge (1820–1910), landscape painter.

[17] Launt Thompson (1833–1894), sculptor; did the bronze statue of Rector Abraham Pierson, in 1874, on the Old Campus at Yale.

[18] George Buchanan Coale (1819–1887), underwriter, noted for his scholarly accomplishments and taste in art and letters.

[19] Andreas Achenbach (1815–1910), and his brother, Oswald Achenbach (1827–1905).

e came a knock at the door and a messenger entered with an a of *The Evening Post* announcing Grant's victory of July 363, with the capture of Vicksburg. The effect of this when captions were read aloud by the host may be imagined, but lly described, for it seemed to indicate the approaching end ne Civil War.

venings at the McEntee's were always delightful; very ble—the guests assisting in an absent-minded way in serving tea. Sometimes it was to meet the Bayard Taylors, or the ldards[20]—the poet and his wife; and if it were a Sunday eve- ; perhaps Edwin Booth would be there, and E. C. Stedman,[21] T. B. Aldrich[22] with Launt Thompson, and a few painters— nsett, Sanford Gifford and Eastman Johnson,[23] while a late- or might drop in perhaps on his return from the Century— late hours made little difference with Mrs. McEntee. The sure of those evenings was due in part to the limited number guests; for like the symposium of old eight or ten must ever ain the limit for good fellowship and good talk; beyond that nber a gathering, however agreeable as to its individual per- nel, becomes a crowd; noisy and jolly perhaps but with no versational interest.

At that time Sunday evenings at Parke Godwin's[24] were also resting. Mr. Bryant would sometimes be present (Godwin his son-in-law) and as the poet had just published his trans- on of the *Iliad*[25] he was not reluctant to discuss a letter he had ived from Dr. French[26] relating to certain technical matters ranslation which had interested him; and Clara Louise Kel- g,[27] then nearly ready to make her début, was willing to sing the few friends who were present. The Wheelers' also was a

Richard Henry Stoddard (1825–1903), poet and literary critic.
Edmund Clarence Stedman (1833–1908), poet and business man.
Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836–1907), poet, story-teller, editor.
Eastman Johnson (1824–1906), genre painter.
Parke Godwin (1816–1904), journalist, author, editor.
William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), poet and editor, was occupied with the d" from 1865 for four years; it was published in 1870.
Weir's learned father-in-law, "a classical scholar of fine literary taste and imination."
Clara Louise Kellogg (1842–1916), dramatic soprano.

home where certain artists of that day were prone to gather. Mrs. Candace Wheeler[28] was then beginning her activities in decorative art, enlarging the sphere of remunerative work for young women of talent; she was an inspiration in this, as in other ways. Then there were Sunday Evenings at Mr. George Ripley's,[29] father of the "Brook Farm" experiment, whose book-reviews in the Tribune were then quite the best in that field.

In 1864 I became a member of The Century Club. Interest in art or literature, whether through their practice or marked appreciation, was originally a pre-requisite for membership in "The Century"; this has since been extended to include other qualifications, chiefly professional. The old Club-house in 1864 was in East Fifteenth Street near Union Square; a structure non-committal in its architecture, but very cosy and not as yet outgrown, for its membership was then but four hundred. As I am still a centurian I may venture to compare some of the subtilties of club-life in contrasting the present with a past that extends beyond half a century; and with the usual prejudice that belongs to human nature in drawing comparisons of any kind which involve personal elements I have sometimes thought that in the old Club-house members were perhaps in closer touch. No! I do not mean physically or from necessity, but as to the friendly intimacies of club intercourse! The distinction may lie wholly in one's self, and yet I fancy not altogether; perhaps it is because life was not then running at its present pace; or, members did not then feel under obligation to comport themselves with the more formal dignity of enlarged architectural backgrounds, as in Forty-third Street; for there *are* subtilties pertaining to the mere enlargements of space that will unconsciously influence the bearing of a man, even as we change in this respect in passing from the freedom of home intercourse to the attitude assumed in larger gatherings. And yet one need not go very far back to recall the abandon, in mirth and revelry, of a "Twelfth-Night at the Century"; and there were Twelfth-Nights of old as well as

[28] Candace Thurber Wheeler, d. 1923, author.
[29] George Ripley (1802–1880), literary critic and social reformer.

se of recent date when men of high professional dignity and own performed their unpremeditated parts, as King or wn of the Revels, in a way which implied that genius is not masterful in its play than in its work. It was in 1864 that lian C. Verplanck, the first President of the Club, was suc-ded by George Bancroft;[30] and two or three years later the orian was in turn succeeded by the poet William Cullen ant. But in looking back over the years evenings at the Cen-y are not apt to be remembered so distinctly for these formal, even hilarious occasions, as for those simpler hours when ups of friends, especially on Saturday evenings, were drawn ether in free and delightful intercourse, reluctant to separate n when the lights were put out to mark the approach of Sun-. Such accidental gatherings are remembered as among the t features of club-life; but alas, the voices of many I recall are v no longer heard.

ohn Gourlie[30a] was one of these; he was one of the founders he Club and he sometimes visited my father at West Point, ere his arrival as a guest was hailed with joy by my brothers myself when youngsters, as one who was not above amusing with his ingenuities, especially by his ventriloquism, which de an imaginary chimney-sweep come down the flue of the n fireplace, beginning with a faint piping voice far up and wing more and more distinct and irascible until we expected see him walk out into the room covered with soot. Gourlie s what Thackeray would have termed "a clubbable man"; had no successor of equal genius in that respect. In later years sited him at his summer home at Stockbridge where he re-ned with his two spinster sisters, a bachelor to the end. He s a retired broker and—a poet: for Mr. Bryant esteemed hly a poem of his printed in the *Evening Post* I think during fifties: its title was "GOD."

n my studio one morning I was looking over my foundry

[30] George Bancroft (1800–1891), historian, diplomat.
[30a] John Hamilton Gourlie (1806–1891), financier. The Century Association was ded in 1847.

studies, to which reference was made in a former paper, and I was further impressed with the virile activities of that busy place; the thought of it, in looking over the studies, seemed to take strong hold of the imagination for its human interest. And one night, having already stretched a large sheet of brown paper in preparation, and spread my studies of the foundry on the walls and floor where I could see them, I began to arrange the composition of "The Gun Foundry" in a large charcoal cartoon; assembling the masses, the big round furnace-stack and the cranes and rafters of the dusky place, with the foundrymen all in busy action absorbed in the work; the interior lit up by the glow of a great cauldron of molten-iron swung by a heavy crane to be tipped while the ropy metal was poured into the moulding-flask—which stood on end in a deep pit where a gun was to be cast. I worked at this cartoon through the night and when the day dawned I had arranged the main features and general effect; far better that way than by trying to grasp it on the spot when every movement changed the ensemble and the impression. I thus secured an initial arrangement which required nearly two years to realize in the finished painting, with the workmen of the place for models in further visits to the foundry. The canvas was forty-eight by sixty-three inches, which was much larger than anything I had hitherto undertaken.

Soon after I had begun work upon the picture Mr. Church came to my studio one morning "to see the cartoon of the foundry, having heard of it." After looking at it he said he would like to purchase it when I had done with it. I smiled at this, deeming it a passing compliment to show his interest. But on leaving he said that the two most original things of the moment in the Studios were my cartoon of the foundry and his "Arctic Aurora"—then just completed. Slight as this incident was it will serve to introduce a matter that should be spoken of here. There is no way of breaking silence as to one's own work in art than by indicating what others, especially fellow artists, may have said or thought of it at any stage of progress or achievement. Painting is a silent art: we may either read silently, or have read

THE GUN FOUNDRY, COLD SPRING, NEW YORK
By John Ferguson Weir, 1864
Putnam County Historical Society

d and carry about with us, a poem; but a picture must explain
f and make its own impression silently, and it can only do
while it is actually before the eye; the artist himself must
on the testimony of others to learn of the success of his aim
urpose: what he may say of his own work matters little and
st left unsaid. But it would be mere affectation on his part to
end indifference to hints from others, however slight, if they
cate impressions made upon those qualified to judge; and in
ing of these things, unless one speaks frankly of these im-
sions coming from fellow artists, the only alternative would
) refer to his own work as indicated in a catalogue, by num-
and title.

began "The Gun Foundry"[31] toward the close of 1864, and

[31] Purchased for $5,250 by Robert Parker Parrott, now in the Putnam County
rical Association, Cold Spring, N.Y.

a year later it was sufficiently advanced to indicate its final effect —as to its general treatment and technical results, though it was not completed until the following April in 1866, when it was sent to the Exhibition. The artists came to see it, sometimes in groups—Eastman Johnson, Kensett, Gifford, Whittredge and others; what they said was encouraging in a task that occasionally assumed the character of a nightmare, depressing me beyond measure lest I fail in realizing expectations—which were really my own—and the end was drawing near.

One morning Mr. Asher B. Durand came "from his home in New Jersey," he said, "especially to see it, having heard much of it": this was embarassing because it laid a responsibility upon me not to attach undue importance to compliments, but to see that in the end the work spoke for itself as it should. There was a time when Durand with Cole stood at the head of their branch of art, landscape-painting, and Durand had been for many years President of the National Academy of Design. He made his earliest reputation at twenty-three years of age as the engraver of Trumbull's "Declaration of Independence,"[32] a large plate admirably executed—a remarkable performance; while his beautifully engraved "Ariadne"[33] received very high praise in France and remains to this day the best example of steel-engraving ever executed in this country. After producing these fine works of the engraver's art Durand devoted himself wholly to landscape-painting with the results indicated above, and I could but attach importance to the impression my picture made upon him, as reported to me later by Mr. Casilear[34] whose studio he visited after leaving my room.

To another visit I also attached importance in this preliminary experience, before the picture was exhibited. Palmer,[35] the sculptor, knocked at my door one Sunday morning, introducing him

[32] Engraved after the original picture, painted 1786–1797, now in the Yale University Art Gallery; copper-engraving 1823.

[33] After John Vanderlyn's picture, painted in 1812; steel-engraving, published 1835

[34] John William Casilear (1811–1893), engraver and landscape painter.

[35] Erastus Dow Palmer (1817–1904), sculptor.

"Hello!" he said, seizing a chair and placing it before the ure, "I was not aware that you were one of the masters!" I e no apology for quoting his words for I did not think of it raise so much as a kind of sympathetic comradeship; for the ole experience had been so new to me and so experimental in workmanship, that I did not know where I stood in relation ts problems; and now I felt that I was getting out of the ods. He then went on to praise and discuss the work from his iliarity with such places, entering into all its details; particu- as to the character and action of the figures; then as to the ring, and the effect and quality of the light and its grada- s, and the ensemble or arrangement of the whole; in short, t that this visit was worth while as a test preliminary to send- the picture to the Exhibition, then close at hand. And still r, as they were about to remove the picture from my room, tman Johnson came in, having learned, he said, from Gifford at it was still here." He praised it highly, . . . saying that it uld be "given a warm reception by the artists and critics." hese comments, long since passed out [of] mind, were re- tly recalled by finding them quoted in letters written at the e to a friend who could appreciate the state of mind I was in ictuating between expectation and possible disappointment o the result, in a task which was nearing its end not without ie nervous strain. For it was a serious matter; I had staked rything upon its success; and these spontaneous expressions praise offset periods of discouragement and gloom, together h a rising tide of responsibilities. Confidence in the outcome one's effort is not attainable alone through will-power, but the reinforcement of one's own conviction in witnessing its ct upon others. Yet these were the opinions of friends, and were preliminary to that impersonal estimate the picture lf might call forth when placed on exhibition—for that may egarded as a kind of challenge.

n the Academy Exhibition it ["The Gun Foundry"] was le a centre and caused my election as an Academician. Launt

Thompson, the sculptor, wrote me of the Academy Meeting, little later:—"Fifty-one members present, and fifty-one vot cast for J. F. W. A rare thing in the annals of the Academy!" quote these words as indicating part of the record of the pictur and because they meant much to me at the time, together wit the wise comment of the press and they are needful to explain th sequel, for important issues hung upon the success and sale that picture. I had spared no pains, pecuniarily and otherwise, i realizing my utmost endeavor, not to say ambition, to make it success. I had confidence in the originality and significance of i subject-matter and in its treatment—as something not hither attempted in this form of art; certainly not with any similar im portance: and this was recognized in several of the more exten ed notices of the picture and by George William Curtis[88] i *Harper's Magazine*. I refer to these things incidentally becau this wide recognition gave me a substantial place in the profe sion and secured for me an end to that somewhat precario struggle a young man is apt to encounter in getting on his feet i art, especially if he seeks a genuine independence in his work an disdains patronage.

These details all have their place in the experience of the ar ist, both for his reputation and as a record of his work; to om them for sentimental reasons in a personal reminiscence woul frustrate its aim as a biographical record of what constitutes th real drama in an artist's life. As details of the production and e hibition of "The Gun Foundry" this omission would leave th record of that experience bereft of interest, or significance; fo all reference to the picture at this late day would fall flat witho these details, as it has not been on public exhibition since 1870, o its return from Paris.

I left for the country immediately after the Exhibition opene and as there was then no agency for collecting press-clippings only saw such notices as came to hand, but they were not a fe and all seemed to praise the picture. The *Times*, in a notice of th

[88] George William Curtis (1824–1892), author, orator.

rate view conspicuously placed on its front page, said:— ". . .
e prominent picture, about which everybody crowded when
portunity afforded, and concerning which it was deemed the
rect thing to talk, was Weir's grand painting of the West
nt Foundry at Cold Spring, which is justly regarded as one of
best works of the year; whose fidelity of detail, peculiar fe-
y of color and general excellence of treatment make it
rthy of the honor Mr. Knoedler, of Goupil and Company,
poses for it. It will shortly be taken to Paris for engraving,
. cannot fail to receive the favorable judgement of artists and
noisseurs.". . .

From *Harper's Magazine*:— "In 'The Gun Foundry' we have
riking picture by a son whose promise illuminates his father's
e. In the exhibitions of twenty years ago the father's pictures
re always notable, and it is now clear that in future exhibitions
son's are to be so. Mr. Weir has chosen for his subject the
erior of the Cold Spring Foundry at the moment of casting a
e Parrott gun. The stalwart workmen are superintending the
uring of the molten metal into the mould. The glare is fierce,
sparks fly upward into the dusty heights of the building,
ile far away in the distance other workmen at other furnaces
revealed like Cyclops at their toil. As in witnessing the scene
lf, so in looking at the picture the music of Schiller's Song of
Bell begins to roll through the mind. . . ."

. .From *The Independent*: notice of the Academy Exhibi-
n: . . . "Weir has his great performance, 'The Gun Foundry,'
l Winslow Homer his truly Homeric reminiscence of the
r, which he calls 'Prisoners from the Front.'[37] These are the
ng points in the Exhibition. They would, in themselves, con-
ute an exhibition worthy of popular demonstration, and they
e assurance of a true feeling for art, and not a doubtful impor-
on which may or may not be genuine."

These few extracts from the reviews will suffice to indicate
w "The Gun Foundry" was received on its exhibition. In art,

[37] Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

as in literature, critical estimates are formed mainly through th reviews, and it seemed preferable under the circumstances t quote from these without paraphrasing, thus completing th picture's record: a year later it was chosen by the committee o selection for the Collection of American Art to be sent to Pari for the International Exposition of 1867. Among other thing attributable to the effect of the favorable publicity given "Th Gun Foundry," was a visit from General Schriver[87a] who came o from Washington by appointment as representative of the Wa Department and Inspector General of the Military Academy.

From *The Tribune's* Paris correspondence, relating to th International Exposition of 1867:— "Mr. Weir shows his stron and fervent picture of that practical American theme 'The Gu Foundry' ": and again, "I may mention that Mr. Weir's remark able picture of the Gun Foundry excites the liveliest interes There is nothing better of the kind in all the Exposition." . . .

The picture was purchased by Mr. Robert P. Parrott, the pro prietor of the West Point Foundry at Cold Spring, for five thou sand dollars. Mr. William Kemble, a brother-in-law of M Parrott, whom I met a few days later at the Bank where he was a officer, said that he had just received a letter from Mr. Dani Huntington,[88] President of the National Academy of Desig "commendatory in the highest terms of The Gun Foundry, and telling him "how much it was liked by the artists."

With the completion of "The Gun Foundry" I experienced clearing of the skies professionally, with a sense of freedom fro former restrictions and limitations. I had learned for myself th in the way of concentrated action results of any consequenc are largely due, given the technical preparations, to what com to us from without in the way of experiences and opportunitie and I have dwelt upon the details of these earlier experiences b cause they were all significant to me at the time, especially wit reference to the problem of getting on one's feet in art, after years' experience of this. Before I had done with this theme th

[87a] Edmund Schriver, no. 723, West Point Class of 1833.
[88] Daniel Huntington (1816–1906), painter.

ies made in that foundry at Cold Spring realized from three positions above eleven thousand dollars: from this pecuniary lt, which I mention because it had an important place in the erience, I found that the professional practice in art, as in other fessions, is a business as well as a vocation— that it is not all iment and romance as sometimes fancied.

When the Exhibition opened I hastened to the country, to the home at West Point: where arrangements were soon com- ed for my marriage with Miss Mary French, daughter of the 'd John William French, D.D., S.T.D., Chaplin and Profes- of Ethics and English in the U. S. Military Academy, and a Miller French: and thence on these recollections will com- e a reminiscence of what was shared in common by us both. West Point my thoughts still turn backward with a mingled e of realism and of romance for it brings to mind experiences have for me the quality of a drama as I recall these memories; it was there, that originated the aims and hopes that were to e my activities toward their realization; however varied e may have been through the years I have never been insen- e to the effects of those early influences or to the stimulus of e early West Point influences and their ideals.

was at this time, or perhaps a little later when I had brought "The Forging of the Shaft,"[30] that I received, by appointment, sit from Inspector General Schriver at my studio in New k; who came on from Washington to make me an offer from War Department to appoint me Assistant Professor at the itary Academy with the rank and pay of Captain; to become Professor on my father's retirement—then close at hand. th full appreciation of the proposal and what this offer im- d at the time, and after due consideration I thought best to line it, fearing it would separate me from professional inter- which then seemed favorable.

n the Spring of 1866 my marriage . . . took place at West

Original picture destroyed by fire; replica, finished in 1877, given to the Metro- n Museum of Art in 1901. The lost original was the immediate cause of Weir's intment to Yale.

Point. . . . After several tentative experiments of the usual kind in seeking a home in the City, life in the Tenth Street Studios was resumed under these changed conditions and continued until we went abroad in 1868. The friendships formed there were very genuine and full of interest. A dinner given us in the studio of Mr. Gifford, one of my groomsmen, as we passed through the City on our wedding-journey, brought together a group of friends who were a witness to strong personal ties which continued through the years. We rented a place for the summer in a village on the Delaware where I could carry on my work under favorable conditions: it was a suite of rooms which by chance had never been occupied, furnished partly with rare antiques and including a picture-gallery suitable as a studio for large work. There I began another picture which I already had in mind while engaged upon "The Gun Foundry." I also found an agreeable change in occupying myself with landscape-painting, and with a small picture of the old blacksmith of the village at work in his smithy—a man of marked character and personality, of whom Longfellow's *The Village Blacksmith* might well serve as a realistic character-study. . . .

When I first rented a studio there [Tenth Street] in 1861, Mr. Richard M. Hunt the architect was still continuing a small school of architecture in one of the larger rooms on the upper floor. Its existence was brief, lasting but three years, I think, but his half-dozen pupils all became known in the profession with more or less distinction of course, but Ware,[40] McKim,[41] and Van Brunt[42] were among them. This was the first instance in this country of giving systematic instruction in architecture beyond what might be gathered from the practice of an architect's office. Hunt had studied in Paris, he was the first American admitted to the École des Beaux-Arts. His master, Lefuel,[43] had charge of a new extension of the Louvre then in process of erection, and on

[40] William Robert Ware (1832–1915), founder of architectural education in the U. S.

[41] Charles Follen McKim (1847–1909) entered partnership of McKim, Mead and White in 1879.

[42] Henry Van Brunt (1832–1903), architect, partner of Ware, 1863.

[43] Hector Martin Lefuel (1810–1881), French architect.

alling ill his favorite pupil Hunt, who was in some way as-
ted with him in the work, completed the design of one of
new pavilions, which students of the Beaux-Arts termed
nt's Pavilion": when I first went to Paris, in 1868, this was
ted out to me and so designated—it was the Pavillon de la
othèque.

unt became a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, doubtless
ugh his connection with this work on the Louvre, and later
similar association with Viollet-le-Duc[43a] in the restoration of
Château de Pierrefonds. What I recall of him in the Tenth
et Studios in 1862 was simply his interesting personality and
rous capacity for doing things, even to his singing the Mar-
ise with wonderful verve and spirit at a reception given him
he artists on his return from a later visit to France. Of his
k in architecture at that time I recall only one or two com-
cial buildings, and a hotel on Twenty-Seventh Street, with a
sard roof—which he helped to introduce; but these were
important; his better work followed with the Lenox Li-
y and the Tribune Building, with the Vanderbilt dwellings
New York and at Newport and Biltmore; which gave a dif-
nt impression of his capacity."[43b] Hunt was held in high esteem
he profession from his having given an impulse to a new ac-
y in architecture here; he was one of the founders and I be-
the first President of the American Institute of Architects.
he World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago the Committee
Architecture assigned to him the designing of the large en-
ce-pavilion to the "Court of Honor"—the Administration
ding. This structure was merely of staff, of course, but the
gn was impressive and its great dome formed a stately ap-
ch to that beautiful feature of the Exposition; for it is not the
erial a building is made of that counts for expression in archi-
ure, but the lines bounding solids; these alone may give to it

Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), French architect, author, and
evalist.

Montgomery Schuyler, "The Works of the Late Richard M. Hunt," *The
itectural Record*, V (Oct.–Dec. 1895), 97–180; Alan Burnham, "The New York
itecture of Richard Morris Hunt," *Journal of the Society of Architectural
rians*, XI, May 1952, 9–14.

character and beauty. A distinguished French architect once remarked: "What must have been Michael Angelo's sensation when his pencil first traced the outline of St. Peter's dome?"

I visited the Exposition as it was nearing its close, and late in the day just before the electric lighting was turned on I stood in that entrance-pavilion looking up at the great vault, when presently a rolling-chair was pushed up beside me; on turning I saw that it was Hunt himself, then an invalid, reclining in it. In reply to my praise of his design he said: "Because of my illness this is the first time I have seen it, except on paper!" He commented freely on the architectural effect and detail as if it were the work of another than himself, adding: "But, why did Frank Millet[44] pick out those coffers with such a dark blue?" When I think of the ephemeral life of that design I am reminded of the tragic experience of his brother William Hunt,[45] a vigorous painter with a pronounced style and distinct elements of greatness; but he lived where there was comparatively little demand for his art; in Boston he was principally occupied with teaching. His opportunity came to him from New York, the decoration of the dome of the State Capitol at Albany; but unfortunately he laid his color on the stone vaulting with insufficient preparation and in a few years his work had perished utterly. The memorial to Richard M. Hunt the architect, by French, in Fifth Avenue near Seventy-first Street, indicates the high esteem in which he was held by the profession, for it was erected I think mainly by his fellow architects.

At a later day William Page[46] became an occupant of the Tenth Street Studios, after a long residence abroad, where he had been more widely known; Lowell[47] refers to his having met him in Rome, and was greatly interested in his talk. While in the Studios he painted his large portrait of Farragut[48] tied to the

[44] Francis Davis Millet (1846–1912), painter and illustrator.
[45] William Morris Hunt (1824–1879), painter.
[46] William Page (1811–1885), portrait painter.
[47] James Russell Lowell (1819–1891), poet, essayist, editor, diplomat.
[48] Painted in 1866, presented to the Czar of Russia. See Charles Lee Lewis, *David Glasgow Farragut, Our First Admiral* (Annapolis: U. S. Naval Institute, 1943), illus. as frontispiece; references, 332 and 483.

uds while running the Confederate batteries on the Missis-
. He also painted Henry Ward Beecher,[49] requiring forty
ngs for it; but Mr. Beecher said he "did not complain because
ne interest of Page's ruminations." After our marriage my
and I often dined in the studio; I recall an occasion when
was our guest and gave us a taste of Shakespeare's Sonnets,
ing them from memory and commenting on the lines in an
inating way. His was a mind quite out of the past, reminis-
and philosophical, which brought its own flavor to mingle
that of the fruit Mrs. Winter set before us.

Henry K. Brown, the sculptor, also passed a winter in the
lios finishing some busts; his home with his studio for large
k was near Newburgh on the Hudson. . . . He was a philoso-
r—a man of high thinking as I came to know him; but this
of mind in a sculptor need not surprise us, when we recall
radition that Socrates was not only a sculptor but the son of
ulptor; the Greeks thought the logic of that art promoted
thinking.

among those with whom my relations in The Studios were
agreeable though less intimate than with a few others, was
lear; he was more than a quarter of a century my senior but
did not prevent his greeting my occasional visits with a smile
velcome that lit up his handsome countenance. Some of us
ught he resembled Washington; his manner recalled the
od, for he was a gentleman of the old school. His landscapes
e as serene as his temperament, and very genuine for their
ble truth. Not a few of the earlier landscape-painters of that
e had begun their professional work as engravers, and Casi-
was one of these; with Durand, Kensett, the elder Smillie[50]
others; I presume that branch of art then yielded a more
dy pecuniary return for the artist—apart from the experience
few successful portrait painters. There was apt to be some
e of that earlier practice in the landscapes of those who had
engravers, as shown in a certain dryness of method; though

Unlocated. See Paxton Hibben, *Henry Ward Beecher, An American Portrait*
v York: George H. Doran Company, 1927), illus. opp. p. 242.
James Smillie (1807–1885), a well-known engraver, born in Scotland.

this was hardly discernible in Casilear's paintings, while in Kensett's "Berkshire Hills" at the Century Club, a fine landscape, there is no trace of it.

In recalling impressions of some of the older painters of that day I refer to them as artists and men; this is not a formal chronicle of art, simply a reminiscence of what interested me at the time; it is as if I heard a knock at my door and said, Come in! R. W. Hubbard,[51] for instance, was limited in his range as a painter, but within his limitations there was the note of truth and sincerity in his landscapes, which arrested attention and gave one pleasure; especially if his theme were a summer afternoon with a sky filled with cloud-forms luminous in their silvery tones and painted broadly with a full brush. In his quiet way Hubbard emphasized the truth of Constable's observation, that "There is nothing beautiful in landscape except light and shadow make it so." Hubbard was an alumnus of Yale; that is to say, after two years at college, with a good record, he left under the lure of a stronger bent for art; but at a later day the college authorities, much to his surprise, fastened their eyes upon him to prevent his committing foeticide, and made him as one duly born of his Alma Mater—much to their credit for the discrimination.

With reference to the technique of art, having grown up in an artist's studio it was an instinct with me, if I cared for a painter's work, to glance casually at his tools on entering his studio, or at his palette and method of work if the chance offered. It is but a truism in art that style is the man, his own way of doing things; and in the landscapes of Worthington Whittredge there was a distinct reflection of his temperament, both in his method of work and in its results. In his wood-interiors particularly, with their intricacies of tree-stems and attenuated leafage; a group of birches perhaps, through which the light is here and there sifted as it were, the forms all nervously felt without excessive emphasis, yet rugged in the handling; he seemed to feel his way with the brush as one walks in a pathless wood looking here and there. His habit of speech was often amusingly similar, tentative and

[51] Richard William Hubbard, Yale, B.A. 1837, M.A. (hon.) 1874, died 1888.

estive until he caught the right word, then ending with a
t laugh to himself in a broken falsetto; as the poet says,
ased with what he got." Born in Ohio he was sent by a friend
udy art in Düsseldorf, passing two years there without
ging away a trace of its influence. What a tenacity there is
times in the instinct of self-development, in spite of the
itions? . . .

e of the pages in this section of the manuscript are missing. After
ile of the three pictures, already described, Weir took his bride to
pe, spending most of 1868–1869 in Italy, France, Holland, and Eng-
Much of this account has been omitted.]

While in England, soon to start on our homeward voyage, I
ived a letter from President Woolsey of Yale University of-
ig me in behalf of the Board of Trustees the position of Dean
irector of the Yale School of Fine-Arts, a new professional
rtment then about to be organized, for which a large and
opriate building had already been erected and some endow-
t provided. As this communication was delayed in reaching
thought it best to defer a reply until we had reached home,
my wife and I might have time, with the advantage of the
ge, to deliberate upon the proposal. As it was to be a profes-
al department, as intimated, it seemed to fall more within my
professional aims than the offer I had previously declined.
change as to the freedom of our life would doubtless be a
ked one, with a plunge into a wholly new atmosphere and I
tioned whether I was prepared for this: nevertheless we
uld have the voyage before us in which to think it over and
sh out a conclusion; and on reaching home I made a brief
to New Haven to look over the field, returning to West
t to write my letter of acceptance. Here then was the begin-
of a series of new experiences that will require one or more
ters of personal recollections to sketch even briefly its char-
ristic features and personal associations, covering a period of
e than forty years. Upon this too I now look back as an ex-
ence transmuted into memories differing in kind from what
gone before.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

GIFTS

TWO oil paintings: *The Bocci Players* by Dorothy Sherry and *130t Street Elevated Station, 1933* by Arapoff. *Gift of Mr. William H Alexander.*

Manuscript log book of William Bedlow on a journey from New Yor to Bristol, January–March 1759, and of later voyages, 1759–1773; an a book from his library. *Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman.*

Daguerreotype of John Romeyn Brodhead (1814–1873) dated Octobe 1846. *Gift of Mrs. Lida L. Bloodgood.*

Two hundred and eighty-seven cartoons by Homer Davenport (1867 1912). *Gift of Mrs. Robinson Brown.*

Watercolor by the donor of the *Third Avenue Elevated Station at Forty Second Street, 1955. Gift of Mr. John L. Checkley.*

Thirty-five signed examples of the work of the American artist, Fred erick S. Church (1842–1923); fifteen sketches and etchings by othe artists; collection of letters and papers relating to Frederick S. Church *Gift of Mrs. C. W. P. Gellatly.*

Oil portrait of *James Gordon Bennett, Jr.* (1841–1918), showing him o board his Yacht *Henrietta* as a Third Lieutenant in the Revenue Cutte Service in the Civil War. Painted by Alexis N. Perignon. *Gift of Mr Arthur S. Grossman.*

Four historical engravings depicting the Battle of New Orleans, 181 engraving of George Washington, after Gilbert Stuart (Boston: 1836 *Gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esquire.*

Marble bust of *Sophie Frances Hurlbut* (1833–1880) done in Rome i 1853; early leather automobile license plate with the initials of Gerard Post Herrick; pewter spoon said to have belonged to William Brewste child's silver rattle, and other material including a collection of medal jewelry and costume items; miscellaneous papers and documents re lating to the Post, Herrick and allied families, including personal corr spondence; approximately 150 legal papers; family photographs; commission of Jonathan Haight as Captain in the 44th Regiment fro James De Lancey, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, dated Marc 22, 1760; Bible (London: 1768) containing family records; two ticke (Brooklyn Union Ferry Company and Madison Avenue Stage Line a case of visiting cards; and other family mementoes. *Gift of Mr Gerard Post Herrick.*

Six pressed-glass candlesticks; nine boxes of glass fragments from San wich and South Jersey; double-woven table cover and other household furnishings. *Gift of Mrs. Ripley Hitchcock.*

Sixty-one 18th-century engravings of symbolic representations of Ame ica and the other three continents; certificate, five photographs, an

orrespondence relating to the court dress of an American minister. *ift of Mr. James Hazen Hyde.*

History of New Bedford by Daniel Ricketson (New Bedford, Mass.: 858). *Gift of Mr. John V. Irwin.*

mplete unused set, in strips and blocks, of the Columbian Exposition tamps of 1893, with accompanying unused envelopes. *Gift of Mr. ohn V. Irwin and Mr. William Irwin.*

ection of drawings, photographs, proof lithographs, letters and publications of Joseph Keppler, Sr. (founder of *Puck*) and of his son and uccessor, Joseph, Jr. *Gift of Mrs. Joseph Keppler, Jr.*

o engravings by Havell, of *The Connecticut Warbler* and *The House Vren* by John James Audubon, from the "Elephant Folio"; 96 issues f the *New-York Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy*, 1753–1759; *The Iohawk Mirror* (Little Falls, N.Y.), Vol. I, nos. 1–25, Jan. 15–Dec. 1, 1841; claim for compensation for services as Secretary of Foreign ffairs filed by Robert R. Livingston after his resignation in December 782 [docketed in John Jay's handwriting]; a commission signed by ir William Howe, New York, May 24, 1777; letter of Gertrude van ortlandt to her son-in-law, Killian Van Rensselaer, dated New York, ugust 22, 1710; six letters to Governor William Livingston of New ersey (two from Sir Guy Carleton) relating to treatment of prisoners nd whaleboat warfare in New Jersey waters during the Revolution; leven books, including six early 19th-century penmanship books; odel of an 18th-century lady made by Mrs. Dean Stanley; silver teaot made by W. Thompson of New York and presented to Captain Villiam Bowne of the Ship *Courier* in 1819. *Gift of Mr. C. Otto von Kienbusch.*

toire de la Nouvelle-York by William Smith (London: 1767); eight quatints of British army scenes by John Hill (1770–1850), made in ngland before his coming to America in 1816. *Gift of Dr. LeRoy E. Cimball.*

e Account Books, 1767–1814, from Livingston Manor, the home of Henry Livingston at Livingston, New York. *Gift of Miss Anna B. Nicholson.*

portraits of *Samuel Maverick* (1789–1845) by John W. Jarvis and of *Mr. and Mrs. Brewster Maverick* by unidentified artist. *Bequest of Grace E. Parkes.*

lection of 73 letters and documents, 1790–1921, including letters of Alexander Hamilton, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, DeWitt Clinton, Andrew Jackson, General McClellan, and Archibald Gracie. *Gift of Marchesa Anne Pellegrini-Quarantotti.*

en-wick lamp, early 18th-century; brass night light, early 19thentury. *Gift of Mr. E. L. Sampter.*

nterfeiting in Colonial America by Kenneth Scott (New York: 957). *Gift of the author.*

Oil portrait of *Andrew Jackson Davis* (1826–1910), founder of American Spiritualism, by Thomas Le Clear. *Gift of Mr. Gerard Stern.*

Bibliography of South Carolina, 1563–1950, by Robert J. Trumbull. *Vol. V: 1906–1950* (Charlottesville, Va.: 1956). *Gift of Dr. Thomas W. Streeter.*

Three American travel notebooks of Sir William Strickland, 1797–1800. *Gift of the Reverend J. E. Strickland, great-great-grandson of the author.*

Collection of 1,084 posters made by The Strobridge Lithographing Company, including 332 theatrical posters, 1897-1915, and 752 circus posters of the Sells-Floto, Ringling Brothers, and Barnum & Bailey circuses. *Gift of Mr. James G. Strobridge.*

Collection of twenty paintings from the Stuyvesant family, including portraits of *Goldsborough Banyar, Sr.* (1725–1815) by Ezra Ames, John Trumbull, and Anson Dickinson, and of *Mrs. Banyar* by Joseph Blackburn. *From the Estate of Augustus Van Horne Stuyvesant, Jr.*

Oil portraits of *Thomas Townsend Sherman*, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, 1923–1931, and of *Mrs. Sherman*, parents of the donor, by T. Casilear Cole. *Gift of Mrs. Arthur Talbot.*

Mercantile Almanac and Business Directory of Geneva, Rochester and Canandaigua, N.Y., 1869, published by J. G. Vail, father of the donor (Geneva, N.Y.: 1869); original sketch by J. Milbert of an American Camp Meeting. *Gift of Dr. R. W. G. Vail.*

Six oil portraits: *Samuel Verplanck, Sr.* (1739–1820) by Z. L. Morrison after Copley; *Judge Benjamin Nicholson* (1747–179?) by Matthew Pratt; *Dr. and Mrs. John Richardson Bayard Rodgers* by John W. Jarvis; *Mary Robertson* by unidentified artist; *Anna S. Rodgers* by Henry Darley; pastel portrait of *William Robertson* by unidentified artist; *The Gathering Storm*, by George Inness; one oil and one water color of *Mount Gulian*, home of Gulian Verplanck at Fishkill; *Dutch Landscape;* two bust silhouettes of members of the Verplanck family; model of the American clipper ship *White Swallow* which made a record trip from New York to San Francisco in 110 days in 1860. *Gift of Mrs. Bayard Verplanck.*

The History of Amateur Journalism by Truman J. Spencer (New York, 1957). *Gift of Mr. Louis C. Wills.*

PURCHASES FOR THE LIBRARY

Articles of co-partnership for the formation of Robert Morris's firm, William Constable & Co., signed by the partners: Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, and William Constable, June 10, 1784.

Contract for the operation of a mine in Ulster County, May 20, 1736, signed by its ten proprietors, including Anthony Rutgers, Cadwallader Colden, Cornelius Hornbeck, Albert Pawling, Gilbert Livingston, James Roosevelt and others.

ter from J. L. Austin, Benjamin Franklin's secret agent in England uring the Revolution, written from Paris, December 19, 1777, describing how he brought the news of Burgoyne's surrender to Franklin, Deane and Lee, U. S. Commissioners at Paris, their reaction, and is own observations.

ter of Colonel Israel Chapin, Government Indian Agent at Canandaigua, N.Y., to Secretary of War Henry, October 18, 1797, reporting he friendliness of the Iroquois Indians.

ter of Major General George Clinton to Colonel Marinus Willett, rom Poughkeepsie, August 29, 1781, regarding the Revolutionary ampaign in Ulster County and the sending of troops for the defense f Schoharie.

ter of Cadwallader Colden to Governor William Cosby [New York, November 30, 1732], relating to acquisition under concealed identity f land in dispute between the counties of Albany and Ulster.

llection of 67 Civil War letters of James B. Collins, Chaplain, and his rother, Joseph T. Collins, sailor, on the *Monitor*, the *Monticello*, and he *Commodore Barney*.

ter of Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York, January 25, 1703, to Edward Shippen and the Council of Pennsylvania egarding French privateer prisoners sent to Philadelphia.

hundred manuscripts, 1890–1919, of Lemuel E. Quigg (1836–1919), ncluding letters from Senator Thomas Platt, Elihu Root, and other rominent political figures, and papers relating to the New York Constitutional Convention of 1915.

iginal manuscript, with his corrections, of Theodore Roosevelt's *The Conservation of Womanhood and Childhood*, an address delivered at Carnegie Hall, October 10, 1911; and 37 other papers and letters to and rom Theodore Roosevelt.

ill of Cornelis Steenwyck, November 20, 1684, leaving the Manor of Fordham to the Dutch Reformed Church, with a contemporary transation by Nicholas Bayard.

re Civil War propaganda broadside: "Cave in boys and save your lives, vhich are considered of no value by your officers . . . ," dated June 8, 1863, sent during the siege of Vicksburg into the Confederate lines o urge their surrender.

e Rising Sun, Kingston, N.Y., 36 issues for 1794–1795.

ERRATA IN THE APRIL 1957 QUARTERLY

ges 198 and 205 (no. 5): Dr. Fenwick Beekman—not the Beekman mily Association—owns the portrait of Abraham Beekman. Pages 201 d 205 (no. 3): The portrait listed as Mrs. William (Cornelia Beekman) lton is probably of Catharine (1717–93) or Maria (1723–93) Beekman.

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William Smith, *The History of the Late Province of New-York, from Its Discovery to the Appointment of Governor Colden, in 1762* (1830). 2 vols. totalling 780 pp., $15.00.

Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War, and the Leading Events in the Other Colonies at That Period* (1879). 2 vols. totalling 1555 pp., illus., index, $15.00.

Dorothy C. Barck, ed., *Letters from John Pintard to His Daughter, Eliza Noel Pintard Davidson, 1816-1833* (1904-41). 4 vols. totalling 1386 pp., illus., index, $12.00.

Donald A. Shelley, *Catalogue of American Portraits in The New-York Historical Society* (1941). viii+374 pp., 430 illus., indexes, $1.50.

William Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt, 1734-1805: A Study of His Work* (1942). x+103 pp., 43 plates, index, $5.00.

Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780-1840, With a Checklist of His Works* (1949). xx+476 pp., 105 illus., index, $10.00.

Calver & Bolton, *History Written with Pick and Shovel: Military Buttons, Belt-Plates, Badges, and Other Relics Excavated from Colonial, Revolutionary, and War of 1812 Camp Sites by the Field Exploration Committee of The New-York Historical Society* (1950). xiv+320 pp., 218 illus., index, $3.50.

Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 1826-1860* (1943). 2 vols. totalling 680 pp., index, $6.00.

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